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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 15



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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
ASEAN Members To Support Kampuchea Representation at Nonaligned Summit (XINHUA, 27, 28 Aug 79) .....	1
Support From Singapore Support From Malaysia	
Kampuchean Radio Urges SRV Withdrawal (XINHUA, 27 Aug 79) .....	2
Israel Condemned at UN Security Council Meeting (XINHUA, 25 Aug 79) .....	3
'XINHUA' Reviews Romanian Economic Development Successes (Ding Yongning, Zhu Youzhi; XINHUA, 20 Aug 79) .....	6
Briefs	
U.S., Iran Arms Sales Talks	8
PARTY AND STATE	
'TA KUNG PAO' Looks at Sino-U.S. Relations (Shih Chun-yu; TA KUNG PAO, 27 Aug 79) .....	9
'WEN WEI PO' Looks at Mondale's Visit to China (Editorial; WEN WEI PO, 28 Aug 79) .....	11
'TA KUNG PAO' Comment on Mondale's Speech at Beijing University (Shih Chun-yu; TA KUNG PAO, 28 Aug 79) .....	13



CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
'GUANGMING RIBAO' Discusses Classes, Class Struggle (GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Aug 79) .....	15
Self-Seeking of Some Party Cadres Must Stop (Li Guo; TIANJIN RIBAO, 10 Jul 79) .....	27
Hong Kong Journal Comments on Rumors of Deng's Retirement (Wei Jan; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Aug 79) .....	30
Changes in China's Social Classes Noted (JIEFANG RIBAO, 19 Jul 79) .....	37
Henan Procuratorate Holds Meeting on Studying Laws (Henan Provincial Service, 26 Aug 79) .....	44
Victimized Members of 'Loafers' Hall' Exonerated (XINHUA Domestic Service, 18 Aug 79) .....	45
Hong Kong Journal Reports on Hu Feng Incident (Hao Hao; CHENGMIN, 1 Aug 79) .....	47
MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY	
PLA Political Department Supports Regiment's Methodology (XINHUA, 23 Aug 79) .....	55
PLA Heroes' Report Group Completes Report Activities (XINHUA, 24 Aug 79) .....	58
'GONGREN RIBAO' Commemorates Former Chief of General Staff (Zhao Wenqi; GONGREN RIBAO, 3 Aug 79) .....	59
'JIEFANGJUN BAO' Carries Newsletter on Rural Policy (XINHUA Domestic Service, 16 Aug 79) .....	61
SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE	
Drama Shows Ossified Mentality Impending Modernization (Qinghai Provincial Service, 24 Aug 79) .....	63
CYL, Education Ministry Hold Forum on Communist Ethics (XINHUA, 26 Aug 79) .....	65
'GUANGMING RIBAO' Urges Elimination of Gang's Art Line (Zheng Wen; GUANGMING RIBAO, 10 Aug 79) .....	66

## CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Beijing Journal Calls for Improvements in Press Circles (Xu We; QIU SHI, Mar 79) .....	68
Commentary Scores 'That Adviser' for Persecuting Late Official (Lian Guan; Beijing Radio, 23 Aug 79) .....	70
Need To Study Philosophical Thinking of Minorities Stressed (Deng Xiang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 28 Jun 79) .....	72
Training of Graduate Students in Shanghai Schools (WEN HUI BAO, 20 Jul 79) .....	75
Secondary Education Said in Urgent Need of Reform (Shan Jiaojia, et al.; GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Jul 79) ....	78
Graduates Urged To Keep Goals Flexible (Shu Ping; TIANJIN RIBAO, 18 Jul 79) .....	83
Guangdong Province Outlines Population Control Measures (NANFANG RIBAO, 22 Jul 79) .....	85

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ASEAN MEMBERS TO SUPPORT KAMPUCHEA REPRESENTATION AT NONALIGNED SUMMIT

#### Support From Singapore

Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 27 Aug 79 OW

[Text] Hong Kong, August 27 (XINHUA)--Singapore Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam said yesterday that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is to give support to Democratic Kampuchea's representatives at the forthcoming sixth non-alignment summit to be held in Havana, the Singapore newspaper "Nanyang Siang Pau" reported today.

He added that Democratic Kampuchea has been recognized by the United Nations and is a non-aligned country.

In an interview with the "Nanyang Siang Pau" before his departure for the Havana conference, he said that Singapore would reiterate ASEAN's stand on the problem of Kampuchea at the conference and urge Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea.

He stressed that all non-aligned countries should strictly observe the non-alignment spirit.

The Singapore foreign minister also said that Singapore is willing to make positive efforts in the non-aligned movement.

#### Support From Malaysia

Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 28 Aug 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, August 28 (XINHUA)--All members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations did not support the present regime in Phnom Penh, declared Malaysian Foreign Minister Ahmad Rithauddeen in Brasilia yesterday, according to a report from that city.

He was talking at a press conference about the representation of Kampuchea to the 6th non-aligned summit in Havana.

He said that his government supports the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

"Cambodia (Kampuchea) should be given free self-determination, and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops must take place", he stressed.

The foreign minister was making a visit to Brazil before going to Havana to attend the impending summit.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### KAMPUCHEAN RADIO URGES SRV WITHDRAWAL

Beijing XINHUA in English 1245 GMT 27 Aug 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, August 27 (XINHUA)--Only when Viet Nam withdraws all its aggressor troops from Kampuchea can the Kampuchean problem be solved, says Radio Democratic Kampuchea in a commentary today.

The commentary notes, "Democratic Kampuchea is an independent and sovereign state with territorial integrity. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese troops have been dispatched to invade and occupy Kampuchea, thus wantonly violating the independence and sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea and flagrantly trampling upon international law, the United Nations Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement. Therefore, Viet Nam must pull all its aggressor troops and forces out of Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people can solve their own problem and gain control of their own destiny without external interference. Peace would be restored immediately in Democratic Kampuchea if Viet Nam respects the independence, sovereignty and respects international law, the United Nations Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement."

At present, the commentary points out, Viet Nam obstinately continues to send more troops to Kampuchea. There is danger of the war extending to Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries.

The world public, the ASEAN nations in particular, have been condemning Viet Nam for its invasion of Kampuchea and demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, it says, adding "this is a just and correct clear-cut stand in conformity with international law, the U.N. Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement. Only by upholding this stand can peace and stability be maintained in Southeast Asia and the world as a whole."

In conclusion, the commentary calls on all countries, peoples, political organizations and well-known personalities in the world who love peace, justice and democracy to give further support through various means to the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against Viet Nam's aggression and annexation of Kampuchea and to compel Viet Nam to withdraw from Kampuchea unconditionally so as to restore peace in Kampuchea and preserve tranquility and stability in Southeast Asia and the whole world.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ISRAEL CONDEMNED AT UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 25 Aug 79 OW

[Text] United Nations, August 24 (XINHUA)--The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people were reaffirmed and Israel was denounced for its refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories at the U.N. Security Council's two-day debate which was adjourned this afternoon.

Through intensive consultations, the council decided to postpone, indefinitely, a vote on a draft resolution at the request of the United States.

The draft resolution, presented before the council by the chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, affirms that "the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its inalienable rights of self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine," and deeply deplores Israel's "persistence in its occupation of the Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and its refusal to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions."

When introducing the draft resolution, Mcdoune Fall (Senegal), in the capacity of chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, said that the draft resolution spoke of "national independence and sovereignty in Palestine" instead of a Palestine state in order to win wider support in the council.

Explaining the reason for the postponement, Kuwait representative Bishara told newsmen that the Arab bloc at the U.N. agreed to postpone a vote because "we are doing it for (Andrew) Young." "We do not want him to be blemished with this," he added. The decision meant that the U.S. would be spared the embarrassment of having to exercise a veto that would land it in a diplomatic confrontation with the Arab bloc at a delicate time in the Middle East peace process.

During the two-day debate, many representatives delivered speeches expounding their governments' positions towards the Middle East problem. The Egyptian representative stressed, "A just and comprehensive peace should be firmly based on the legitimate rights of all the peoples and countries in

the area," and "all sincere efforts should be exerted to enable the valiant and long-neglected Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights without any delay."

He noted, the core of the Middle East problem is the Palestinian question. Any delay in solving the issue would only lead to more instability in the area.

The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization reaffirmed the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and vehemently denounced Israel for its recent rocket attacks on peaceful villages in Lebanon. He also condemned the United States for its support to Israel.

The Yugoslav representative observed: "We must not allow the Palestinian people to be deprived of its inalienable right to freedom and independence in its own homeland."

He declared that the non-aligned countries were "not only the closest ally, but also the staunchest support of Arab countries and peoples in their struggle for easing all the consequences of aggression and domination."

Chinese representative Chen Chu expressed unswerving support of the Chinese Government and people for the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples for the recovery of occupied Arab territories and the realization of the Palestinian people's national rights.

Condemning the Israeli Zionists' policies of aggression, expansion and annexation, Chen Chu said: "The Israeli aggressors have become so truculent and rampant because they have the overt or covert backing of the superpowers."

"Obviously", he added, "to achieve a real solution of the Middle East question, it is imperative to firmly oppose and exclude superpower meddling and sabotage and to strengthen the unity of the Arab world in a common struggle."

Gabon's representative pointed out that it was clear that the situation in the Middle East was explosive because of Israel's persistent refusal to satisfy the national rights of the Palestinian people, and its refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. He said that the Security Council must put all pressure on Israel to conform to the provisions of the U.N. resolutions on the Middle East problem.

The representative of Jamaica said that the plight of the Palestinian people, and the denial of their inalienable rights, remained a prominent and painful reality in the Middle East. "We cannot afford to ignore that reality", he said. He believed that there could be no durable peace in the Middle East without the full recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

French representative observed that the Arab people had the right to recover their territorial integrity. He added, the Palestinians also had a right to



establish a homeland, which must be decided in the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

The Security Council held two previous meetings on the subject on June 29 and on July 27. On July 30, at the request of the United States, Kuwait and the PLO, the debate was adjourned until yesterday. This U.S. move furnished the people with expectations of some possible modifications of U.S. policy towards the PLO. However, before long, U.S. chief delegate to the U.N. Andrew Young was forced to resign because of his contacts with the PLO observer to the United Nations.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'XINHUA' REVIEWS ROMANIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SUCCESSES

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0701 GMT 20 Aug 79 OW

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporters Ding Yongning and Zhu Youzhi: "Romania's 35 Years of All-round Development"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, 20 Aug--Twenty-three August marks the glorious 35th anniversary of Romania's liberation. In the past 35 years, especially since 1965, the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Ceausescu has, on the basis of Marxist principles and the country's characteristics, formulated an independent policy to develop the national economy quickly and has made tremendous achievements in developing production and raising the standard of the people's material and cultural life.

Between 1951 and 1977, Romania's industrial output increased an average of 12.9 percent per year, making it one of the countries in the world achieving industrial development the fastest speed. During the same period, its agricultural output scored an average annual increase of 4.6 percent and the national income averaged an annual rise of 9.7 percent. In 1978, the value of total industrial production rose 41 fold over 1938, the peak year before the war, agricultural output increased by more than 200 percent and the national income rose 12 fold. Also in 1978, Romania's per capita steel output was half a ton, the per capita grain output reached 868 kilograms and the per capita annual income rose from \$80 to over \$1,400.

In implementing the socialist policy on industrialization, Romania has attached great importance to developing power, metallurgical, machine-building and chemical industries, which are fundamental industrial departments.

Before liberation, Romania had to import 95 percent of the machinery and equipment it needed while today it is 80-percent self-sufficient.

Romania has also attached importance to developing the national economy in a planned, proportionate manner, placing emphasis on developing light industry and agriculture. Under the several 5-year plans since 1966, the amount of investments in Category II industries has risen from approximately 10



percent to about 16 percent of total industrial investment. Since 1966, tremendous achievements have been made in the consumer goods and food industries, with marked improvement in both quality and variety.

In Romania, the acreage of farmland under cultivation by state farms and agricultural producers cooperatives accounts for 95 percent of the total arable land. The state's investment in agriculture accounts for between 13 and 15 percent of the total investment in the national economy. This vast investment by the state has promoted agricultural mechanization, the use of chemicals and development of more irrigational facilities. By the end of 1978, the number of tractors being used for farming throughout the country was more than 153,000--one tractor for every 68 hectares of farmland.

With the vigorous development in production, the Romanian people's standard of living has also been greatly raised. Nationwide, the average monthly wage of workers has increased from 337 ley in 1950 to 2,011 ley in 1978, a nearly five-fold increase. During the same period, the actual monthly income of rural cooperative members rose from 167 to 1,268 ley, an increase of 6.5 fold.

The Romanian people's living conditions have also improved greatly. In the past 30 years, two-thirds of Romania's population has moved into new houses. At present, the per capita living space in cities (not including subsidiary space) averages approximately 10 square meters.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

U.S., IRAN ARMS SALES TALKS--Washington, August 24 (XINHUA)--The U.S. has been engaged in talks with the Government of Iran over U.S. arms sales to that country, according to U.S. Defence Department officials today. The talks were said to have been renewed over 4 to 5 billion dollars in outstanding defence contracts. Before the shah was overthrown earlier this year, Iran was the leading recipient of U.S. arms, importing over 17 billion dollars worth of hardware since 1970. The new Government of Iran cancelled some 7 billion dollars of about 12 billion outstanding arms contracts with the United States after it came to power. Officials said that the revival of a military supply relationship with Iran was aimed at "shoring up overall ties" with the new Government of Iran. Talks on the arms sales, together with the U.S. Government's recent decision to sell heating oil to Iran, are viewed as "enhancing what little influence the United States possesses in the country." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0836 GMT 25 Aug 79 OW]

CSO: 4020

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'TA KUNG PAO' LOOKS AT SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 27 Aug 79 p 2 HK

["Political Talk" column by Shih Chun-yu: "How Long Will the United States Continue Its Appeasement"]

[Excerpts] Today is the third day since U.S. Vice President Mondale arrived in Beijing. It appears that the highest-ranking U.S. leader to visit China since the establishment of the Sino-American diplomatic relations has begun to exchange views on certain current international problems and on the problem of further developing Sino-American Relations. The Chinese and American peoples all hope that this exchange of views will bring about good results.

On the eve of his trip to China, Vice President Mondale said: "Normalization can mean many things and can also mean nothing. We are now in a thorny stage, which is also an extremely important one."

China and the United States only established diplomatic relations 8 months ago. In the past 200-odd days, the high point of Sino-American relations was Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States. After this, Washington's attitude toward handling some substantial problems between the two countries has given people the impression that there has been "much said but little done."

There are many existing problems, but the most important one is the U.S. attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Looking at the surfaces the main problem in Southeast Asia is Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and the refugees it has produced and exported. The U.S. attitude towards Vietnam is clear. Mondale's statement when he left Washington pointed out that Vietnam's forcible expulsion of refugees is one of the most cruel events in modern history. The United States has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea.

Relying on its military strength, the Soviet Union has resorted to all kinds of measures to seek world hegemony. However, the U.S. attitude toward

these events is to treat the symptoms but not the disease. The United States sometimes even takes a do-nothing attitude and pushes through a policy of appeasement.

The U.S. attitude towards China sometimes turns cold after suddenly becoming warmer. This is actually caused by the U.S. policy of appeasement.

Does China, as some Americans think, fear the Soviet Union and want the United States to keep the Soviet Union out?

Militarily we are inferior to the Soviet Union. Do we fear this polar bear? Our self-defensive counterattack war against Vietnam in the beginning of this year answers this question very well. Our new China has never been under the umbrella of other countries. The history of the founding of our country for 30 years is the proof.

We raise this problem because of the common security interests of the two countries and the interest of world peace and stability. If we have a common and unanimous view on this problem, it will be conducive to the further development of relations between the two countries.

We hope that Vice President Mondale's visit will be another high point in Sino-American relations after the Vice Premier Deng's visit to the United States. There is plenty of room for development since the establishment of the Sino-American diplomatic relations. The season in which the weather turns cold again after suddenly becoming warmer is past. We are greeting the brilliant spring when the friendship between the two countries has further developed.

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'WEN WEI PO' LOOKS AT MONDALE'S VISIT TO CHINA

Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 28 Aug 79 p 3 HK

[Editorial: "Mondale's Visit to China"]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Mondale's visit to Beijing is not merely a courtesy visit made to repay Vice Premier Deng's visit to the United States 9 months ago [date as published], but, in the words of American officials, it is "an indication that the second stage in the normalization of relations between China and the United States is nearing completion."

At the beginning of this year, China and the United States established diplomatic relations, affirmed the normalized relations between China and the United States and theoretically dealt with the Taiwan issue which had impeded the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. This was the first stage of the normalization of relations between China and the United States. After diplomatic ties were established, the government officials and people-to-people representatives of the two countries have carried out frequent exchange visits. Exchanges in trade, science, technology and culture between the two countries have expanded and thus brought about a new course in the development of relations between China and the United States. Now Mondale is making a state visit to Beijing. He will talk to Premier Hua and Vice Premier Deng, visit Xian, Guangzhou and other places and conclude some agreements. There will be a new advance in relations between China and the United States.

The American leaders have expressed many times that the United States needs a powerful and peaceful China and have held that this would be beneficial to the stability of the Asia-Pacific region and to world peace.

The Chinese leaders have also clearly pointed out that there is much common ground between China and the United States in international issues. China wishes to expand the exchange of trade, science, technology and culture with the United States and to develop the friendly relations between the two countries.

It is exactly due to the above mentioned needs and understanding that China and the United States have always maintained frequent contacts and tried to explore and broaden the road to friendship.

Indeed, the establishing of diplomatic ties between China and the United States is certainly not the end of the bilateral, friendly relationship but instead opens up a smooth path for developing this relationship.

In the relations between China and the United States, the Taiwan issue is still a problem which needs to be solved. Some people in the U.S. Congress have attempted to add political overtones to the trade relations between Taiwan and the United States and equate the Taiwan-U.S. people-to-people relations with official Taiwan-U.S. relations. This is detrimental to the spirit of the agreement reached when China and the United States established diplomatic relations. The U.S. Government [words indistinct] Taiwan are still a point of divergence between the two countries. Of course, we still have to wait for favorable conditions to solve the Taiwan issue. The Chinese Government is patiently waiting for the Taiwan authorities to show their interest in carrying out peace talks and at the same time, is energetically making preparations to unify the motherland through non-peaceful means. China hopes that the United States will fully admit that the issue of unifying Taiwan is the internal policy of China.

China is facing the arduous task of achieving the "four modernizations." It is opening wide its door of communications with all the countries with which it has established diplomatic relations and it will certainly not regard the United States which possesses advanced production technology as an exception. As a matter of fact, the frequent visits to the United States of people from economic and trading circles in China demonstrates China's sincerity in expanding trade with the United States. The current obstacle lying in the way of trade relations between China and the United States is the problem of the United States' granting China most-favored-nation status. Although theoretical agreements have been reached, they have not been submitted to the congress for approval even after a long period of stalling. The high rate of customs duty the United States imposes on imported foreign commodities will inevitably affect the balance of trade between China and the United States and it will be impossible for the United States to acquire and use China's inexpensive oil and other industrial and agricultural products.

Before Mondale came to China, he told correspondents: "We are in the midst of this knotty, yet very important process. Here we are genuinely normalizing relations so that the relations between China and the United States will take roots in the legal and organizational structures." The solution to this issue is a problem which will inevitably arise in the process of "genuinely normalizing relations."

It is said that U.S. President Carter will visit China before next January and Mondale's trip will lay the good preparations for Carter's visit.

The successive visits to China of the U.S. Vice President and President indicate that friendly relations between China and the United States assume an ever more important position in their respective world strategies.



## PARTY AND STATE

### 'TA KUNG PAO' COMMENTS ON MONDALE'S SPEECH AT BEIJING UNIVERSITY

Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Aug 79 p 2 HK

[Political Talk column by Shih Chun-yu: "Mondale Delivers a Speech at China's Highest Seat of Learning"]

[Excerpts] Mondale Speaks at Beijing University

United States Vice President Mondale yesterday went to Beijing University to deliver a speech. Since the founding of new China, he is the first U.S. official to be accorded such a courteous reception.

He is the most senior U.S. official to visit China since the establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations. Nixon and Ford, who arrived in Beijing during preestablishment period, were never invited to address the Chinese audience in such a way.

Although he did not use the word hegemonism in his speech, he forcefully exposed the real nature of hegemonism and indicated opposition against it.

He said: "Neither by relying exclusively on an increasing stock of arms, nor by direct or indirect military intervention, can any nation hope to attain lasting security."

### Deng Xiaoping Discusses Joining Forces To Oppose Hegemonism

During the welcoming banquet held on the day before yesterday, Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping spoke of this issue in clearer terms. He said: Viewing changes and developments as a whole, the international situation has become more turbulent and tense. Cases of intervention in and attempts to exercise control over other countries and even acts of open armed aggression show that the danger of war is still growing.

He, therefore, held that China and the United States have an unescapable responsibility to work harder in the defense of world peace and to oppose hegemonism and foreign domination in all its forms.

### Weakening China Means Opposing the United States

In his speech at Beijing University, Mondale reiterated that the purpose of his current visit is to strengthen the Sino-American relations in the 1980's.

He also said: Any nation which seeks to weaken China assumes a stance counter to American interests.

Although Mondale did not mention the Soviet Union, reports filed by Western correspondents have noted that the speech delivered at this time and in this place has clearly shown an inclination.

CSO: 4005



## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES CLASSES, CLASS STRUGGLE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 79 pp 1-2 HK

[Article by the writing group of the military academy: "Several Problems Concerning Classes and Class Struggle"]

[Text] Lenin said: "Marxism demands that we make a most practical analysis of class relations in every crucial period of history--an analysis that can stand an objective test." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 24) Respecting objective facts, understanding things according to their true features and analyzing problems--this is a most fundamental principle of the Marxist materialist theory of knowledge. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng applied the fundamental Marxist principles in a down-to-earth, scientific analysis of the class conditions and the problem of class struggle in our country, and drew a correct conclusion. This provides an important basis for shifting the work focus. Comrade Hua Guofeng's important remarks on the class conditions and the problem of class struggle in our country have not only repudiated various fallacies that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had long created about this problem but clarified many questions that have been unclear to us. But there are also certain new theoretical problems that must also be solved.

#### I

Why is it claimed that "as classes, the landlord class and the rich peasant class have been eliminated" and "as a class, the capitalist class no longer exists?"

To answer this problem, we must first be clear about the meaning of classes. In "A Great Beginning," Lenin gave classes a scientific definition: "Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and consequently, by the dimensions and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can

appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 10) From Lenin's writings, we can see that "classes" are social groups. These groups can only be the product of economic relations and determined by "four differences" in economic relations. Therefore, the basic way to eliminate classes and the indication of their elimination involve the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. With the completion of the reform in ownership of the means of production, the landlord and rich peasant classes and the bourgeoisie have ceased to exist as classes. In the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and that so-called "theory authority" publicized what was called distinguishing classes by economic yardsticks and especially political yardsticks. This is a fallacy running counter to Marxism. We must insist on taking economic yardsticks as a basis for distinction between classes.

Two basic changes occur when the landlord and rich peasant classes have been eliminated as classes and when capitalists no longer exist as a class. The first is the change in the relations of production (mainly ownerships of the means of production) and the second is the change in the overwhelming majority of people in these classes. (Apart from suppressing a small number of extremely reactionary elements, we must transform the overwhelming majority among them into self-supporting laborers.) But this does not smack of all classes and class enemies having been eliminated and class struggle having ceased and still less of the elimination of the three great differences related to classes.

Judging the actual conditions of our country from this viewpoint, such is the fact: As early as the end of 1952, with the triumphant conclusion of the land reform throughout the country (except for a number of minority areas) and the elimination of the feudal system of exploitation, the landlord class was eliminated as a class. Then with a reform in the small production system followed by a thorough change in the position of the rich peasant economy and the gradual establishment of a socialist system of collective ownership of the means of production, the foundation of the rural system of exploitation was basically destroyed.

In 1950, the government administration council said in its documents that after the land reform, the landlord elements after 5 full years of labor and the rich peasant elements in the old liberated areas after 3 full years of labor were entitled to a change in their class status or the removal of the label of landlord or rich peasant elements, if they obeyed the government's laws and orders and did not do anything wrong. However, such a rule was later not seriously carried out in many areas. On the contrary, some areas ran counter to the policies formulated by the party and the state and even adopted the method of preserving the class status of "landlord or rich peasant elements" from "generations to generation," with "a son carrying on the status of a deceased father, a brother the status of an older one, and wife the status of husband." In the political movement, some laboring people were erroneously classified as landlords and

rich peasants. Such an ultraleftist error in treating landlords and rich peasants hampered not only socialist revolution and construction but the transformation of landlord and rich peasant elements. To turn chaos into order, we must change the class status of those law-abiding landlords and rich peasants. The work of removing their labels is being undertaken. According to a typical investigation by a county in the suburbs of Beijing Municipality, the overwhelming majority of landlord and rich-peasant elements have been transformed into self-supporting laborers. Those landlord and rich-peasant elements not yet reformed represent only an extremely small number. During the land reform, this county had 6,000 landlord and rich peasant elements. Before the effort to remove their labels, there were over 400 such elements. Now only 27 remain after the effort was made. They represent only 0.5 percent of the number of landlord and rich peasant elements who existed during the land reform. This is strong proof that Comrade Hua Guofeng's statement in his report entirely corresponds with actual conditions.

In all the cities of the country, the people have long overthrown the reactionary rule of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie as an important part of the Chinese bourgeoisie, seized all their enterprises and transformed them into state-owned ones. Thus the economic foundation of the bureaucrat bourgeoisie no longer exists. The national bourgeoisie, under the historical conditions of our country, belong to a part of our people. Our government adopted a policy of correctly using, restricting and transforming them and gradually and smoothly completed the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie long ago passed into the hands of the state through redemption. This has destroyed the basic conditions or the capitalist relations of production upon which they rely for existence. The overwhelming majority of people among the industrialists and businessmen who are able to work have been transformed into self-supporting laborers in the socialist society. All this has proved Lenin's brilliant conclusion that "socialism meaning the elimination of classes." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, P 91)

## II

Since the old exploiting classes have been eliminated, then do the proletariat as the opposite of the bourgeoisie and the peasant class as the opposite of the landlord class and the rich peasant class no longer exist? No. These two classes still exist.

Lenin pointed out in May 1921: "Such a social system has been established for the first time in contemporary history. Under this system, the exploiting classes have been eliminated but there still exist two different classes, the working class and the peasants." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 395) Analyzing the class relations after the completion of the Soviet socialist transformation in his report "On the Draft of the Soviet Constitution" in November 1936, Stalin pointed out: "The Soviet Union has

known of no capitalists, landlords and rich peasants as classes. In the Soviet Union, there are only two classes, the workers and the peasants" ("Problems of Leninism," p 617) It can be seen that the disappearance of capitalists, landlords and rich peasants as classes first and the disappearance of workers and peasants as classes later cannot be simply lumped together as a case of "perishing together" in the same period and under similar conditions.

It should also be admitted that the proletariat and peasant class in our country at present are no longer what they were in the original sense. The proletariat no longer has nothing to its own name. It shares the means of production with the whole people. (Scientifically speaking, it should be called a working class.) It is the leading class of the country. The masses of peasants are no longer small peasants individually owning the means of production but socialist peasants who engage in labor and follow the common road to wealth under the system of collective ownership of the means of production and who have become the masters of the socialist society. After the socialist transformation of capitalist industry, commerce and agriculture, our country has undergone a fundamental change in the relations of production, and class conditions have shown an obvious change. The proletariat has become a completely new class and the peasants have also become completely new. Therefore, "what determines every citizen's position in society is not his financial condition nor his nationality, his sex or his job but his ability and his work." ("Problems of Leninism," p 610) Such an interpretation by Comrade Stalin entirely corresponds with the realities of our country today. In line with the principle of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts, certain slogans that we formerly put forward, including reliance on poor peasants and uniting middle peasants (correct at that time) should also be altered to suit changed conditions. Otherwise, we would depart from reality and from the masses. This would hamper not only the effort to arouse the activism of the masses of peasants but the effort to enlarge the social foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countryside. It also obstructs the effort to achieve the four modernizations.

### III

Since the landlord class and the rich peasant class have been eliminated as classes and the capitalist class no longer exists, then why is there still class struggle? Some comrades feel that this question is not easy to understand. In fact, so long as we proceed not from concepts but from actual conditions and make a concrete analysis of concrete problems, this problem is not hard to understand.

First, exploiting classes as such no longer exist, but the enemies of various classes still exist. In his "Report on the Work of the Government," Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "In our country, there are still counter-revolutionaries and enemy agents, criminals and political degenerates who seriously disrupt socialist public order, and new exploiters such as



grafters, embezzlers and speculators." There are also "remnants of the 'gang of four' and of the old exploiting classes including the few unreformed landlords and rich peasants" (Hereafter called six "elements" and two "remnants.") They will persist in their reactionary stands and carry on antisocialist activities in the political and economic spheres. Though they represent a very small number, we can never lower our guard and become careless. Our struggle with them is, of course, class struggle.

Second, internal class struggle is closely bound up with international class struggle. Abroad there is still the threat of imperialism and social imperialism. Such class struggle is naturally reflected in internal class struggle. In fact, some counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents are related to the enemies abroad. Our struggle with them is, of course, class struggle.

Third, though class struggle is still protracted, tortuous and at times even very acute, judging from the main trends of development, it will become increasingly less serious. Class enemies will gradually be reduced and class struggle will gradually weaken. But the formation and elimination of classes is a long-term process. When the development of productivity is at a very low level, we cannot, in a short period of time, create conditions that make the existence of exploiting classes and their reappearance impossible. A small number of new exploiters will continuously be generated. Our struggle with these elements, of course, is also class struggle.

Fourth, at present with the transformation of the main contradictions in our society, class struggle in the future will mainly revolve around socialist modernization and serve it. We can hardly conceive that in the great struggle to achieve the four modernizations, we will not suffer from disruption from the enemy. Therefore, the struggle to safeguard the four modernizations and prevent their disruption will be the main content of class struggle in the future.

Here, some comrades may ask: Do the contradictions among the people represent class struggle? There are definitely contradictions and class struggle among the people. But we cannot call this class struggle. Such an interpretation is unscientific. 1) Class struggle mainly refers to struggle between two classes with their interests diametrically opposed to each other--the exploiting class and the exploited. Generally speaking, the relations among men are not the relations between opposing classes and will not intensify as opposites and take the form of class struggle. 2) There is class struggle among the people. This was put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong with due regard to the concrete conditions in which the national bourgeoisie belonged to contradictions among the people and the national bourgeoisie still carried out exploitation. Now the capitalists as a class no longer exist. The system of exploitation has been eliminated. Of course, among the people, there is no longer the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. 3) The struggle between different ideas among the people involves the ideological struggle between proletarian ideas and bourgeois ideas and the ideas of the feudal class. But this

chiefly belongs to contradictions between the advanced and the backward, between right and wrong. Such an ideological struggle is different from political class struggle and should be strictly distinguished. The methods of solution are different. 4) If we say there is class struggle among the people, then which are the classes involved in the struggle? If we simply interpret the struggle between different ideas among the people as class struggle, we will naturally "base accusations on what one says," catch hold of "ideological criminals," and bring about the enlargement of class struggle with serious consequences. At the present stage, using the method of class struggle to solve problems among the people is obviously extremely harmful. In this regard, we have had profound lessons.

#### IV

Are the six kinds of "elements" and two kinds of "remnants" mentioned by Comrade Hua Guofeng in his "Report on the Work of the Government" to be considered a class? Is our struggle with them to be regarded as struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the feudal class? Is there still the danger of a restoration of counterrevolution?

It should be pointed out that these six kinds of "elements" and two kinds of "remnants" cannot be regarded as a class. This is because they could not possibly form a class. They do not exist and act as a complete exploiting class that occupies a ruling position and appropriates other people's labor in the social production system. With the socialist relations of production increasingly consolidated and developed, they also could not again organize into a complete exploiting class. With the proletariat assuming power, they could not form a unified social force capable of united political action. Judging from the concrete conditions of these six kinds of "elements" and two kinds of "remnants," we cannot and need not sweepingly include them under the name of any exploiting class that previously existed in history. In his "Report on the Work of the Government," Comrade Hua Guofeng properly summed them up as "various class enemies."

Our struggle with these six kinds of "elements" and two kinds of "remnants" is of course class struggle. But such struggle is greatly different from the class struggle between exploiting classes and the exploited in history. It is a peculiar form of class struggle under socialist conditions with the exploiting classes eliminated. These class enemies are the target of our attack but what we attack is not a complete landlord class, rich peasant class or capitalist class in its original sense but scattered "various class enemies" that are not unified or organized. These class enemies can still exist and operate because they are enemy agents or counterrevolutionaries relying on international reactionaries or counterrevolutionary groups, or because they are new exploiters who avail themselves of certain loopholes in the socialist relations of production to practice corruption and theft and carry out speculation and manipulation, or because they are political degenerates who abuse their authority to line their own pockets, or because

they are old exploiters who still exist as remnants of the overthrown old society, or because they are certain remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that have wormed their way into our party organs and our government. What is worthy of note is that some elements will still flaunt the banner of supporting Chairman Mao and appear in the form of ultraleftists to deceive the public to seek the satisfaction of temporary success. If they have anything in common, it is that they are all anticommunist, anti-people and antisocialist. Therefore, we must wage a resolute struggle against them and must exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them.

Is there still the danger of counterrevolutionary restoration in the future? As far as the law of development of mankind is concerned, the main trend is making progress but in a wavelike fashion. The appearance of partial and temporary fluctuations at times is possible. That Lin Biao and the "gang of four" achieved momentary success provides eloquent proof. Is it likely that any similar phenomenon will appear in the future? We cannot say that this is absolutely impossible. If we relax our vigilance and do not view problems in this way, this is dangerous. But after the great catastrophe caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the Chinese people have raised their awareness considerably. They are vigilant against careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and will never allow a repetition of history. However, to turn such a wish into reality, we must eliminate conditions likely to generate it. We must therefore resolutely practice political democracy, improve socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, insure that party and state leadership are really being grasped in the hands of Marxists, follow Marxist ideological political and organizational lines and guarantee the rapid realization of the four modernizations. The "gang of four" said sneeringly out of ulterior motives: "The realization of the four modernizations will coincide with the restoration of capitalism. We hold an exactly opposite view: "The realization of the four modernizations will coincide with the realization of a most consolidated socialist system," with the danger of counterrevolutionary restoration represented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" removed.

## V

We once criticized the views held by Comrade Stalin on the problem of class struggle. What attitude must we now take toward this?

We must concretely analyze this problem in light of the basic viewpoint of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth.

By 1936, the Soviet Union had victoriously accomplished the basic tasks in socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. On 25 November 1936 at the Extraordinary Eight Congress of Soviets of the USSR, Comrade Stalin gave an important report entitled "On the Draft Constitution of the USSR," in which he said: "In conformity with these changes in the economy of the USSR, the class structure of our society has also changed.

"The landlord class, as you know, has already been eliminated as a result of the victorious conclusion of the civil war. As for the other exploiting classes, they have shared the fate of the landlord class. The capitalist class in the sphere of industry has ceased to exist. The kulak class in the sphere of agriculture has ceased to exist. And the merchants and profiteers in the sphere of trade have ceased to exist. Thus all the exploiting classes have now been eliminated.

"There remains the working class.

"There remains the peasant class.

"There remains the intelligentsia.

"But it would be a mistake to think that these social groups have undergone no change during this period, that they have remained the same as they were, say, in the period of capitalism." ("Problems of Leninism" pp 602-603)

In the past we adopted a negative attitude toward the above views expressed by Comrade Stalin. We thought he had prematurely proclaimed that there were no classes in the Soviet Union; we believed that he had made the mistake of subscribing to the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." We even believed that Comrade Stalin's "wrong statement has brought disaster to the nation." Today how should we look at this statement by Comrade Stalin? In our opinion, it is necessary to reexamine our past understanding of these remarks and comprehensively analyze them.

First of all we must affirm that Comrade Stalin proceeded from the actual situation in the Soviet society which had undergone tremendous changes, and drew the correct conclusion which conformed with Marxism-Leninism.

In addition, we should also realize that there were obviously some shortcomings in Comrade Stalin's understanding of the class struggle existing in the Soviet society in the wake of the conclusion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. First, when Comrade Stalin pointed out that exploiting classes had been eliminated, he failed to say at the same time that there were still the remnants of the exploiting classes and there was still class struggle. Second, Comrade Stalin failed to see that the influence of the ideology of the exploiting classes would still remain for a long time and that class struggle not only existed on the economic and political fronts, but also remained on the ideological front as an important aspect that could not be neglected. However, erroneous tendencies arising from the above two shortcomings lasted a very short time and did not lead to any significant damage in practice. Third, it should be pointed out that by 1937, Comrade Stalin went from one extreme to another and maintained that class struggle had become more acute. In his "On the Shortcomings in the Work of the Party and the Methods of Eliminating the Double-faced Trotskyites and Other Double-Dealers," he said: "The greater and more frequent our progress and victories, the fiercer the



remnants of the defeated exploiting classes will become, the sharper the forms of struggle against the Soviet state and the more desperate their methods of struggle will be in their last-ditch efforts against us." It is obvious that such estimates did not tally well with the general tendency of the development of class struggle in the period of socialism. The reason behind Comrade Stalin's mistakes lay in the fact that to a serious extent he had mixed up the two fundamentally different types of contradiction--the contradictions among the people and those between us and the enemy. He took some people within the party holding views that differed from his, that is, the opposition inside the party, for class enemies. Such mistakes led to serious results in the widening of the scope of the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the late 1930's.

Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong always set great store by the practical experiences of the Soviet socialist revolution and stressed that we should let the experiences of the Soviet Union serve as a warning and use them for reference. In the article "More on the Historical Experiences of the Proletarian Dictatorship" which was approved through a discussion by the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and published on 29 December 1956, it was stated: After the elimination of the exploiting classes, it is still necessary for the proletariat to wage a struggle against the remnant counterrevolutionaries at home. However, "we should not follow Stalin's example in continuing to stress the intensification of class struggle after the elimination of classes, which hindered the development of socialist democracy on a sound footing." This criticism is undoubtedly correct. In 1957 after the fundamental conclusion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The present situation is: The large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses in the revolutionary period on the whole ended, but class struggle has not yet completely ended," placing emphasis on the correct handling of contradictions among the people. This revolutionary thesis by Comrade Mao Zedong was formulated on the basis of the actual situation in China and after Comrade Mao Zedong drew on the experiences gained and lessons learned by Comrade Stalin. Therefore, it is also correct.

History is a mirror. We must admit that there are mistakes in our past criticisms of Comrade Stalin. The conclusion that the exploiting classes inside the Soviet Union had been eliminated which Comrade Stalin arrived at in 1936 was correct. However, we thought Comrade Stalin had been ideologically under the influence of the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." In this way, we stressed the seriousness of class struggle in China and the danger of capitalist restoration to such an extent that we had actually flown in the face of the objective reality and obviously made a mistake. Besides, although we realized and pointed out that Comrade Stalin in his practice had made the mistake of widening the scope of the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, we failed to truly learn this lesson from him. Instead, we made similar mistakes to those made by Comrade Stalin. Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that adviser of theirs, even

reached the limit in making this kind of mistake. Over a fairly long period of time Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that adviser paid no attention to our party's scientific appraisal of the tendency of class struggle after the changes in class relations and our party's correct policies on the problem of the handling of class struggle. They again unfolded large-scale and turbulent mass class struggle after the announcement was made that large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses had on the whole ended. Thereafter, this kind of class struggle continued, placing our party and country in a state of turmoil, causing vibration that resulted in the disunity of our people for a long time. There was no stability in our country and our economic construction suffered severe losses. There was also serious confusion in the people's thinking, the enthusiasm of the masses was seriously deflated, and the vitality and strength of our nation was subjected to untold damage.

Such bitter lessons tell us that scientifically analyzing and appraising the state of the classes in the period of socialism according to the actual situation and taking a correct attitude toward class struggle is a major theoretical problem and a problem concerning practice that will determine the success or failure of our socialist cause, as well as a decisive problem concerning whether we will be able to truly shift the focus of our work. The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has taken bold and decisive action with a view to bringing order out of chaos. It has, on the basis of the new situation, drawn conclusions that are in line with the practical situation of the classes within our country. This has been completely and correctly done. Those who accuse our party of currently adopting a right deviationist line and policies are those people who have not gotten rid of the spiritual fetters created by the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

## VI

In our future practice, how should we implement the principle concerning class struggle laid down in Comrade Hua Guofeng's "Report on the Work of the Government?"

With regard to the future correct handling of the problem of class struggle, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has summed up both our positive and negative experiences gained in the past 20 years and more, especially the lessons learned from the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the past decade and more. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" Comrade Hua Guofeng clearly put forward the correct principles which we must uphold: "First, we recognize both that class struggle has not yet come to an end and that at the same time there is no longer any need for large-scale and turbulent class struggle waged by the masses, and therefore we should not try to wage such a struggle in the future"; second, we recognize that in socialist society there are contradictions between the enemy and the people as well as among the people themselves and that these two kinds of contradictions must be

rigorously differentiated and correctly handled. Contradictions between the enemy and the people are resolved by means of dictatorship while those in the ranks of the people are resolved by democratic means, through unity-criticism-unity." These two principles are interrelated. If we fail to implement the first one, we will not be able to carry out the second.

The first principle in the above quotation from Comrade Hua Guofeng asks us to guard against two tendencies. We must guard against not only the rightist tendency of artificially widening the scope of class struggle. We must uphold the appraisal of the situation of class struggle according to objective reality and the principle of seeking truth from facts. On this problem, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have caused the most serious "internal injuries" to us. These were so serious that after the smashing of the "gang of four" our party has encountered a series of obstacles in the work of bringing order out of chaos. Until very recently, some comrades still proceeded from the ultraleftist standpoint and took the excellent situation prevailing on the theoretical and literature and art fronts for the so-called very bad situation of early 1957; they did not feel joy for such an excellent situation in which "a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." On the contrary they were full of worries. This shows how serious and penetrating the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line has been on the minds of some of our comrades. Hence, it is imperative for us to seriously make up our minds and vigorously exert ourselves in eradicating such a pernicious influence. We must, of course, adopt a serious attitude in the future toward an extremely small number of class enemies who will engage in sabotage and will make trouble. We will tackle problems caused by them whenever and wherever they arise and challenge us. However, we must never consider the problem of an extremely small number of people engaging themselves in sabotage and making trouble for a problem affecting a large area or even a problem of a national scale; and we must not try to unfold what is termed large-scale "political movement."

The second principle in the above quotation from Comrade Hua Guofeng asks us to rigorously differentiate and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions. For many years, we suffered again and again from our mistakes in mixing up the two kinds of contradictions which are different in nature. We have had enough of it. This has brought appalling disasters to our party, country and people. We must forever remember such a lesson. With regard to the handling of contradictions in the ranks of the people, it is imperative to uphold the democratic method of persuasion and education. It is imperative to start from the desire for unity, use the method of criticism or struggle and achieve new unity on a new basis. In the future, any debate between divergent views within the party or any contention among different opinions on academic matters, must never be taken for class struggle, and must never be considered as a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. It should not be allowed to wantonly interfere with the living habits or preferences of the masses of the people, such as their

clothing, hair styles and normal recreational activities; it should never be allowed to forever play on things like this as a matter of principle, believe such things to be "new trends in class struggle" and use them to find fault with and brandish cudgels at our masses or cadres. Any such action can only be the reflection of the pernicious influence of the dictatorship exercised by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the masses of people; or it can only be considered as the expression of feudal ideology. Only by correctly implementing the two principles set forth by Comrade Hua Guofeng, will we be able to accurately strike blows at the enemy, effectively protect the people and maintain a political situation of stability and unity for the sake of realizing the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### SELF-SEEKING OF SOME PARTY CADRES MUST STOP

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 79 p 3

[Article by Li Guo (2621 2654): "Oppose Special Privileges, Rectify Work-style"]

[Text] Thinking of the Revolutionary War years--the patched clothes of some leading comrades in our Party Central Committee and their use of spinning wheels, their carrying rice on shoulder poles, and the finance minister not having a single cent in personal savings--encourages, moves and inspires people.

Looking at our individual cadres today, with their unhealthy tendency to seek personal gain and grab special privileges, causes people to feel deep grief and righteous indignation!

Is it conceivable that we should not think of the definition of revolution? Is it conceivable that we communists cannot extricate ourselves from the historical pigpen of special privileges? The only answer is that we should and we can.

Historically, the representative figures and the bureaucrats and politicians of the exploiting class only sought gain for their class and themselves, not going beyond the scope of winning promotion and getting rich, cheating and squeezing the people, and tyrannically abusing their power. Owing to their class limitations, the leaders of the peasant uprisings, even if they could carry out grand and spectacular undertakings, in the end they were either defeated or ascended the throne and declared themselves emperors, living luxuriously, elevating their wives and protecting their children, and turning themselves into new oppressors and exploiters. Chen Sheng [coleader of the Chen Sheng-Wu Guang Uprising, the first peasant uprising in China, 209 B.C.] had lofty aims, but after declaring himself king he exercised power without restraint. A poor man, who in the past had been a hired laborer together with Chen, on seeing him spoke a few sentences to Chen that painfully recalled his former state. Eventually, Chen had him killed. After Li Zicheng [leader of the peasant uprising that toppled the Ming Dynasty in 1644] entered Beijing, he quickly became arrogant and, while seeking ease and comfort, was defeated and overthrown.



The proletariat is the most advanced and most revolutionary class in history. Its outstanding representative--the communist--is selfless and fearless, and his sole purpose is to work for the interests of the great majority of the world's people. He heroically struggles for the liberation of all mankind, and does not seek any personal gain or special privileges. Owing to the fact that the Communist Party has a high degree of the spirit of revolution, organization and discipline, and also the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, it certainly can ward off corruption, never receive favors, and avoid falling into the historical pitfall of being corrupted by special privileges. If we liken the bureaucrats and politicians of the exploiting class to the small birds that hunt for insects and grain in raspberry bushes, and liken the peasant leaders to wild swans whose soaring aspirations cannot be maintained to the end, then we communists should be likened to the selfless and fearless leviathan-roc that circles above the world.

We see that, calculating from the time of Marx, we do not know how many communists, for the cause of liberating mankind, lost their heads, shed their blood, and gave their all. Because there is the incorruptibility of the leviathan-roc that spreads its wings in the vault of heaven, the baseness of small birds fighting each other for flies in raspberry bushes is all the more apparent. As for those people who, trampling on the martyrs' bloodstains and the revolutionary people's sweat, seek personal gain and grab special privileges--is it conceivable that they do not feel ashamed? Forgetting the past means betrayal; using one's power of office to seek special privileges is a sign of this deterioration. If a person forgets the proletariat's revolutionary traditions, loses the proletariat's revolutionary spirit, takes joining the party to be a step to winning promotions, wields his power of office as a magic weapon to feather his own nest, then how is he essentially different from the bureaucrats and politicians of the exploiting class and the petty bourgeoisie? And how does he have the flavor of a communist?

After the proletariat attained political power, an extremely important question arose, viz., how to prevent party and government cadres from trying to obtain special privileges, how to prevent them from changing from being society's servants into being society's masters. In addition to giving them constant political and ideological education, it is necessary that there be an assurance that this will be prevented by means of systems and measures. When summing up the experiences of the Paris Commune, Engels proposed two measures. First, fill all administrative, judicial, and compulsory education posts with persons elected in a general election, and allow the electors at any time to dismiss and replace those they elected. Second, pay all those who hold public office, no matter whether their positions be high or low, the same salaries as other workers. That some of our cadres use their power of office to grab special privileges, with the exception of the reason that they were poisoned and influenced by the "gang of four's" and Lin Biao's "entice people with: office, emolument, and favor," the other important reason is that we did not sufficiently implement the above-mentioned principles of the Paris Commune, and did not perfect the democratic system. The Party Central Committee, with Comrade Hua Guofeng as its head, takes very seriously the perfecting of democracy and the perfecting of the legal system. This is

extremely significant in preventing or checking the unhealthy tendency on the part of some cadres to grab special privileges. Doubtless, taking as a starting point the more thorough implementation of the Paris Commune principles will effectively prevent our party government organs and cadres from changing from being society's servants into being its masters.

What the party's workstyle is like has a great bearing on the success or failure of revolution and construction. The Yan'an rectification of incorrect workstyles ideologically guaranteed our seizure of victory throughout the entire country. Today, our party wants to lead the people of the entire country on a new Long March, but first of all it is necessary to rectify its workstyle. And the goodness or badness of its workstyle, in the final analysis, is a question of whether or not we have the revolutionary spirit. Our party's three excellent workstyles are precisely the embodiment of the proletariat's revolutionary spirit. By having the selfless and fearless revolutionary spirit of courageously fighting for the liberation of all mankind, we will be able to firmly integrate theory with practice in the struggle for truth; be able to forge close links with the masses, proceeding in all cases from the interests of the people; and be able to bravely carry out criticism and self-criticism in order to consciously correct our own shortcomings and mistakes for the sake of the revolutionary cause. Therefore, in our rectification of the party's workstyle, it is necessary to start with opposition to special privileges. If we don't, then we will be treating the symptom and not the cause of the trouble, and the party's workstyle will not be properly rectified.

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### HONG KONG JOURNAL COMMENTS ON RUMORS OF DENG'S RETIREMENT

Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG in Chinese No 11, 16 Aug 79 pp 4-6 HK

[Article by Wei Jan: "Rumors of 'Deng's Retirement'"]

[Text] "Do you know that Deng Xiaoping is going to retire?"

This is what was said in a TUNG XIANG reader's letter.

The personnel in the editorial department immediately telephoned that reader.

"We never had any news about Deng Xiaoping's retirement. Could you please tell me where this piece of news came from?"

"This is what people said in Guangzhou. I just returned from Guangzhou."

"In which circles in Guangzhou was this piece of news said?"

"Everybody has been talking about the matter..."

'Is His Position Insecure?'

The next morning, 8 August, I arrived in Guangzhou in heavy rain.

After a series of interviews and inquiries, I found that what that Hong Kong reader said proved to be true: the saying that Deng Xiaoping is going to retire is widespread in Guangzhou. I contacted 17 persons in the morning, including the attendants in the Lihua guesthouse where I stayed. Nine of them had heard about this news.

The impression these rumors give is that the position of Deng Xiaoping is insecure. Is this piece of news true?

This is the key point.



It is said that this hearsay has gone round fast in Guangzhou as well as in other places; however, it has not caused such a temporary clamor as in Guangzhou.

People do not want this to be true, as they generally hold that the line implemented by the party Central Committee, including the principles of the 3d plenum, cannot be separated from Deng Xiaoping. Moreover, practice has proven that the line, principles and policies are correct. The current economic liveliness in Guangzhou is unprecedented for many years. In the market, I found that there was a plentiful supply of eggs, 1 jin costing 0.8 yuan and in the free market, the price of pork has come down, costing 1.1 yuan a jin. A dish of medium-size shrimps cost 2 yuan and 1 jin of live shrimps in the market cost about 1 yuan. It has become easier to buy fish, too. All this is due to the fact that the policies of the 3d plenum have been implemented. Although there have been certain shortcomings in work in the past 2 years or so, people say that Deng Xiaoping made an examination on this after the second session of the Fifth NPC. However, as soon as the eight-character principle on economic readjustment was issued, the situation changed for the better. The people have shown full understanding and sympathy for the faults made in economic work by the leading persons in the party Central Committee. Everyone says: The primary wish of the upper levels is to rapidly promote the economy and this is identical with the wish of the people of the whole country. To admit and correct mistakes after making them is a work style which will only strengthen the leaders' prestige, and will never produce an opposite result.

In that case, why is it that Deng Xiaoping "prepares to retire?" Why "is his position insecure?"

#### Revealing the Answer to the Riddle

After another day of gathering more material, I finally found the answer to the riddle.

It turned out to be a rumor, a hundred percent rumor.

There is no such thing as "preparing to retire" at all, and neither is there such a thing as "his position being insecure."

How did these rumors begin?

There was a reliable report: Deng Xiaoping once told a Philippine correspondent that he did not intend to visit Manila because he was already old. To make this rejection more tactful, Deng Xiaoping employed rather humorous diplomatic language: "I hope that I can retire as early as possible, but whether or not I am allowed to do so is another matter." AP reported this news as well.

This is the original version of the AP report:

"AP report from Manila, Philippines, 8 August: Two Manila newspapers report today that Deng Xiaoping, vice premier of China, has eliminated the possibility that he will carry out any formal visits abroad, and hopes that he can retire as early as possible."

The PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS and TIMES JOURNAL said: Deng Xiaoping made the above statement on Saturday to a number of Philippine correspondents. Soon after the normalization of relations between China and the United States, Deng Xiaoping visited the United States at the beginning of this year. These Philippine correspondents accompanied Imelda, first lady of Philippines, on her visit to China.

These two newspapers said: When we asked whether or not he would plan to visit Manila, Deng Xiaoping said: "No, I think I have finished my tasks of paying visits abroad.... None of my advisers agree to my going abroad again."

He explained to the correspondents that he was already 70 and said: "I hope I can retire as early as possible, but whether or not I will be allowed to do so is another matter."

#### Distorted Publicity

Obviously, what Deng Xiaoping said was a tactful refusal, directed at the Philippine correspondents who asked him whether or not he would visit the Philippines. A newspaper editor who understands diplomatic language would not have taken seriously Deng's words "I hope I can retire as early as possible." Therefore, the press in general did not handle the AP report in a prominent way. In fact, if Deng Xiaoping had really decided to retire, he would have proposed this to the party Central Committee and would not have said "I hope I can retire as early as possible," but "I have asked for permission to retire as early as possible." However, there are people who have grasped this piece of news, distorted and publicized it in a way that it really seemed true: "Deng Xiaoping is going to retire," "Deng Xiaoping's position is insecure."

In fact, these rumors meant to tell people: Deng Xiaoping is falling from power and there is going to be a great change of personnel in the central authorities.

The purpose of fabricating these rumors is nothing other than to make people restless, sabotage the economic readjustment and disrupt the progress of the four modernizations.

Who Is the Rumormonger?

Who is the rumormonger?

It was impossible for me to trace these rumors to their source.

I think that our readers are very interested in finding the source of the wind. I can only provide some background material here.

In the recent period, communist China has laid much emphasis on two things: the first being "correct the ideological line," and the second "no one is allowed to pursue factionalism." This reflects two aspects of the situation. First, some people have persisted in following the wrong ideological line, secondly, some people have pursued factionalist activities. Of course, these two things are often related to each other.

### 'Hold High Oneself'

There are some people within the CCP (the number is not large) who have doubted or even opposed the spirit of the 3d plenum. There is no doubt that the 3d plenum's important policy concerning the shift of the work focus is in line with the real situation of our country, reflects the urgent wishes and demands of the entire party, army and country and people of all nationalities and pushes forward our country's historical development to a new stage. However, these people say that the shift means "changing direction" and "throwing away the guiding principles and line"; it is obvious that the 3d plenum has fully affirmed the discussion on the issue of the criterion of truth and put forward the principles of emancipating the mind, getting mobilized, seeking truth from facts, uniting together and looking ahead. These things have inherited and brought into play the spirit of seeking truth from facts which was consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and have corrected our ideological line in carrying out socialist modernization. However, they say that all this meant ("chopping down the banner" and "negating the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought.") (We must especially watch out for the fact that a very small number of people have kept on saying that they have been "holding high," and that others have been "chopping down the banner," but in fact, they have not really been holding high or protecting the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Instead they have been holding high and protecting themselves.) (Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO 30 July commentator's article: "Correcting the Ideological Line is a Fundamental Construction")

There is an internal CCP document "concerning several principles of political life within the party" this "document" emphasized: "The party organizations at all levels and every communist party member must enhance their revolutionary vigilance and resolutely guard against instigation of factionalism, organization of secret cliques and hatching of schemes and intrigues by careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO published an article on 27 July entitled: "We Must Pursue Great Unity and Must Certainly Not Go in for Sectarianism" which also laid emphasis on this point: "We must resolutely struggle against the crimes of breaking up and overthrowing the party."

## The Adverse Current Is Ready To Create Disturbances

We can be sure that there are people in the upper stratum of the CCP who have organized factions and pursued conspiracies. Although they are few in number, we cannot underestimate their power. The article entitled "A Talk on the Current Class and Class Struggle in Our Country" which was published by JIEFANG RIBAO and reprinted by RENMIN RIBAO, said: "Indeed, the evil remnants of the 'gang of four' and other hostile elements always wish to restore feudalism and capitalism and they would be able to form themselves into a reactionary political power under certain special situations; this Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were once representatives of these people, we must not take them lightly."

Hence we can see that the problem is not simple. If we relate this problem to the appearance of the great poisonous weed "'Praising Virtue' and 'Lacking Virtue'" in the June issue of HEBEI WENYI [HEBEI LITERATURE AND ART], we can more clearly understand that although this adverse current (the communist newspapers and some secretaries of the provincial CCP committees have also called this ultraleftist ideological trend which opposed the 3d plenum the "adverse current") which appeared in March and April this year suffered a counterattack, by June and July. Far from being weakened, it actually became ever more frenzied. This article "'Praising Virtue' and 'Lacking Virtue'" is high-sounding and full of the style of the gang. It only allows people to present a false picture of peace and prosperity and forbids writers to expose evils. The sinister talk of Jiang Qing has even been used in some places of the article, and in addition, the article is full of the disgusting tone and language which a shrew uses to shout abuse in the street, arbitrarily sticking labels on people and coming down on them with big sticks. The terrible style of writing is also shocking. Who do we still find this kind of article in the 3 years since the "gang of four" collapsed? We can only understand this in the following way: If there is a sign of disturbance or trouble in this period or when the climate is suitable, the ultraleftist ideological trend becomes rampant. The article "'Praising Virtue' and 'Lacking Virtue'" is in fact the work of the reincarnation of the ultraleftist line.

Obviously, the ultraleftist line is counterattacking! The stubborn force is counterattacking! In this situation, it is not surprising that rumors that "Deng Xiaoping is going to retire" appear and spread.

I asked a friend who had opportunities to make contacts with high ranking cadres: "Will Deng Xiaoping be exposed to some pressure under the pounding of the ultraleftist ideological trend?"

"I think that it would not be possible that he had not been exposed to certain pressure."

"Our readers will ask whether or not Deng has reflected some of his feelings in his diplomatic language?"



## The Ultraleftists Will Ultimately Fail

"I think these are two different matters. This means: Being exposed to certain pressure is one matter, and whether or not he is going to retire is the other. Did Deng Xiaoping not make known earlier his will to continue working for a number of years? Judging to the thinking, character and experiences of Deng Xiaoping, he would be able to withstand the tests of storms. Although there are now undercurrents and adverse currents in the sea, they can hardly constitute anything significant. Moreover, Deng's line has won people's support and thus has gained the upper hand. This is a fact."

I agree to what my friend said. People abroad often worry that the struggle over ideological line will ruin stability and unity. As a matter of fact, if we do not struggle against the ultraleftist ideological trend or eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we can never achieve genuine stability and unity. The current situation is: Although the ultraleftist ideological trend is counterattacking, the masses have resolutely refused to compromise with the "left." As soon as this article "'Praising Virtue'" appeared, millions of people denounced it and the "praising virtue faction" came under siege. Has this situation not demonstrated that the situation is favorable for Deng Xiaoping's correct line and unfavorable for the ultraleftist ideological trend?

We can be sure that no matter how the remnant force of the "gang of four" or other hostile elements fabricate rumors or resort to other contemptible means, their forces and conspiracies which go against the tide will certainly fail in the event and they will suffer the same fate as the "gang of four."

Editor's Note: Current political life is unprecedentedly lively in China, the political situation is rather stable and the class struggle tends to be easing. However, this does not mean that there will be no more contradictions, and that there [will] be no more clouds in the sky or waves in the sea. No, as the communist journals says: There are "cold winds" and "adverse currents" in spring. Both the article "'Praising Virtue' and 'Lacking Virtue'" published in the June issue of HEBEI WENYI [HEBEI LITERATURE AND ART] and the rumors that "Deng Xiaoping is going to retire" which spread in Guangzhou and other places are in fact signals which show that there is an attack by a contrary wind. This of course is not typhoon signal No 10, or 8, 5, 3 or even 1. However, we cannot take this lightly. All these things show that the ultraleftist ideological trend is running rampant for a time. The literature and art short commentary of RENMIN RIBAO and other public opinion hold that the publication of the article "'Praising Virtue'" is the expression of the reincarnation of the ultraleftist line. The Chinese people indeed suffered too much from the "left." Thus they should be highly vigilant against the cold and contrary "left" wind. The articles in this issue of TUNG HSIANG on the trends in China focus on exposing the new movements of the ultraleftist ideological trend. I hope that the relevant articles will arouse the attention of the readers.



Because of Hoang Van Hoan's defection to China and the possible reemergence of Sihanouk, the current situation in Indochina has become the focus of attention in the international scene. The relevant articles in this issue are all substantial materials for the readers' reference.

Our reporter recently gathered materials from Xinjiang and wrote the first article in the form of random notes which reflected odd bits of information on the appearance of Xinjiang today. I think this will arouse the interests of the readers.

Starting from this issue, TUNG HSIANG will enrich its overall contents and the Taiwan question will also be a major topic. Both the quantity and quality of the articles on the situation in Taiwan have been improved.

Because of the large number of scripts we receive, many fine works cannot be published. We hereby beg the writers' pardon. Many readers have written to inquire whether or not the magazine is open to all writers. Here we solemnly answer our dear readers: The door of TUNG HSIANG is always open and your articles will always be welcomed. We welcome your criticisms and views.

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### CHANGES IN CHINA'S SOCIAL CLASSES NOTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 79 pp 1, 3

[Article by staff commentator: "Correctly Recognize the Fundamental Change in Our Country's Class Situation"]

[Excerpts] In his "report on government work" delivered before the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Hua Guofeng pointed out: "In our country (except Taiwan), we have done away with the feudal exploitative system and the capitalist exploitative system and reformed the system of small-scale production through steps that are correct and reasonable and supported by the great majority of our people. The socialist system has firmly established itself, having stood the severest tests of our times. The landlords and rich peasants as social classes have died out. The capitalists used to form a historical part of the population of the People's Republic of China. Our government has taken steps in the right direction to buy them out and to smoothly restructure the capitalist industry and commerce. Therefore, they as a social class have also ceased to exist. Thanks to the struggle and educational campaigns of the past three decades, most former members of these social classes who can work have now become self-supporting working members of our socialist society."

Comrade Hua Guofeng's remarks on the fundamental changes in the class structure of China amount to an important declaration. We must study it seriously. In fact, a correct assessment of the state of social classes is usually the first step toward the formation of political line, broad principles and policies of a revolutionary political party. The recognition of the fundamental changes in China's class structure will be of great significance if we are to appreciate the shift of emphasis in our party's work programs, to correctly interpret the broad principles and policies being pursued by our party at present, and to conscientiously act upon the sentiments of the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

#### I

Comrade Hua Guofeng's observation of the fundamental changes in China's class structure hits the nail on the head and displays Marxist scientific insight.

To be alert to fundamental changes that are taking place in our social classes, we must know first the definition of social classes and the conditions that cause the demise of a particular class. Marxists believe that "classes owe their existence to a particular historical phase in the development of production."

When people group themselves by their pecking order in the social production system, their relations to the means of production, their influence in the labor structure, and their share of the social wealth, classes are born. Lenin once said: "The so-called classes are groups formed in such a manner. By dint of the difference in their status in the economic structure of a society, one of the classes will come to claim possession of the labor of another." Similarly, when the means of production cease to belong to any particular class and when one group ceases to lay claim on the fruits of labor of another group, a class dies. In his articles "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and "How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas," Comrade Mao Zedong also divided society into different classes according to their economic roles. For example, landlords "own land. They do not work, at least not work for a living. They live off the peasants through exploitation." Rich peasants "also have land holdings" and "own superior tools of production and working capital." "They rely partially or mostly upon exploitation for a livelihood." The proletariat, for example, "are on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. They have lost the means of production, except their bare hands." They have "nothing to their name." The bourgeoisie, as a social class opposed to the proletariat, own capital. They own factories and other enterprises. They claim possession of the workers' fruits of labor and exploit the workers' surplus value. If we are to analyze class divisions in today's China from a Marxist standard, do we still see the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes today as they existed in history? No, they are gone.

The dying of the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes in our country has coincided with the deepening of our socialist revolution on two fronts: on the agricultural front, the socialist reform began with the formation of mutual-aid teams. Those teams later progressed to lower forms and then high forms of agricultural cooperatives. On the industrial front, the socialist reform began with requiring capitalist industry and commerce to meet state purchase orders. Later on the state took over the distribution of its products and then bought itself into the management. Toward the latter part of 1955, the agricultural cooperatives reached a high point in their development. Stimulated by this success, the entire capitalist industry and commerce converted to joint ownership between the state and the individual and the handicraft industry formed itself into cooperatives similar to their agricultural counterparts. By this time, our socialist revolution more or less completed its mission of restructuring the system of ownership of the means of production. In 1958, the entire rural China turned communal. After 1966, all enterprises jointly owned by the state and individuals were nationalized. During such a sustained revolutionary process, our party first confiscated the means of production, which had served the purpose of exploitation, from the landlords

and rich peasants and then watched over them and reformed them through the policy of requiring them to work with their hands. The policy toward the capitalists, on the other hand, was one of buying them out, uniting, educating and reforming them. Practice has proved the success of these policies. After more than 20 years of struggle and reeducation programs, the great majority of the landlords and rich peasants have proved themselves to be honest and law-abiding citizens. The great majority of the capitalists have demonstrated their willingness to follow the socialist path charted by our party. The great majority of these former landlords, rich peasants and capitalists who can work have now become self-supporting working members of our socialist society. All this fully proves Comrade Hua Guofeng's conclusion that the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes have died out and ceased to exist in China reflects the true conditions as they exist in our country and is a statement of objective fact that leaves no room for doubt.

A number of comrades, however, were surprised by Comrade Hua Guofeng's conclusion regarding the fundamental changes in China's class structure and found it hard to understand when they read the "Report on Government Work." They remained convinced that the exploitative landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes were deathless, changeless institutions. Obviously they were shackled to a metaphysical viewpoint. As we say, under certain conditions it is possible, in our struggles, to cause one side of a contradiction to gradually switch to the side of its opposite. Similarly, the class structure of a society can also change. It is possible for members of exploitative classes to turn into self-supporting workers. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "As to the members of the reactionary classes and individual reactionaries, so long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create trouble after their political power has been overthrown, land and work will be given to them to allow them to live and to remold themselves through labor into new people." Wasn't he telling us, in clear and unmistakable language, that members of exploitative and reactionary classes could have a new start in life after their reform? As a matter of fact, the suggestion to remove the class labels from members of exploitative landlord and rich peasant classes was not made today in an abrupt move. It had been for years the intention of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. At the time when advanced agricultural cooperatives were formed, our party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that landlords and rich peasants who had given up exploitation be accepted as full or alternate members of agricultural cooperatives on their individual merits. In 1965, our party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong again proposed in the article "Some Problems of the Socialist Education Program in Rural Areas Under Review at Present" that "landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements as well as the degenerative members of our society be subjected to reform through labor under the supervision of the masses and be helped to a new start in life." As to those who had, for 10 years or more up to that point, earned an honest living with their hands and had done nothing wrong, "can we remove their class labels in case such labels have been affixed? Or can we refrain from giving them a class label in case such a label is wanting?" What about the bourgeoisie in China? In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the



the People," Comrade Mao Zedong declared: "Members of the bourgeoisie have become administrative personnel in joint state-private enterprises and are being transformed from exploiters into working people living by their own labor." In the same article, Comrade Mao Zedong also raised the point about whether the "bourgeois" label should be removed once they stopped drawing a fixed rate of interest from their share of capital in the joint enterprises. He suggested that the bourgeois members still needed ideological remolding for quite some time before they could shed their class labels. If we are to restudy the policy pursued by our party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong in this area, we will find Comrade Hua Guofeng's declaration on the demise of the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes true to the historical development and logical. They will not find it unexpected and hard to understand.

Some of our comrades have a foggy idea of the fundamental changes that are taking place in China's class structure. The reason is that they were under the influence of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for such a long time. While Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were pursuing their ultraleftist line, they painted a distorted picture of class structure and class struggle during the historical period of socialism and made a subjective idealist assessment of China's social classes. They described China's rural communities, albeit the success of the people's communes, as a dark continent where landlords and rich peasants were still plotting to regain their lost paradise. They claimed that spontaneous forces of capitalism were engulfing the nation and that the struggle between the two classes and the two roads was raging unchecked and dangerously. They called all the patriotic capitalists who were willing to follow our party's plans for them and to remold themselves "objects of dictatorship" and "monsters and demons." They redrew a line between friends and foes, bubbling that "there is a new shift in class relationships." They made up the story that there was a bourgeois class within our party and that this "bourgeoisie in our midst" was more avaricious and more ruthless than any we had known before and "was the ultimate form in bourgeoisification." Moreover, that advisor of theirs was even presumptuous enough to tamper with the Marxist criterion for class divisions itself. He promoted his theory that classes are not only of economic but also of political and ideological significance. He claimed that it was one's ideological inclination and one's political attitude that gave one his class identity in a socialist society, not one's economic status or one's relationship to the means of production. This added more confusion to the already murky issue of class relationships in a socialist society. The idealist thesis on classes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" produced widespread harmful influence. Having heard and read so much about this stuff for so many years, some of our comrades concluded that Marxism meant tightly embracing the concept of class struggle and revolution meant throwing landlords, rich peasants and capitalists to the ground and trampling them under foot. When they heard the declaration from our party Central Committee that reformed landlords and rich peasants can now shed their class stigma and that the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes are no more, they were unprepared and mystified. If these comrades are to come to terms with the fundamental changes in China's



class makeup, they must free themselves from the mental shackles wrought by the idealist thesis on classes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

#### IV

Correct assessment of the fundamental changes in China's class structure is a prerequisite to a proper understanding and conduct of class struggle at the present stage.

Some comrades have raised this question: if the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes of China are things of the past, why is class struggle still going on? Comrade Hua Guofeng made a reply to this question in no uncertain terms in his "Report on Government Work." We must not lose sight of two basic facts. On the one hand, fundamental changes are taking place in China's class structure. Exploiters as social classes are gone. On the other hand, "in our country there are still counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents. There are still criminals and degenerative members of society who are seriously disrupting our socialist social order. There are grafters, thieves and racketeers who form a new exploitative clique. Some scattered followers of the 'gang of four,' a very small number of unreformed landlords and rich peasants, and some remnants of formerly exploitative classes may continue in their reactionary stand and in their anti-socialist political and economic activities. Furthermore, the class struggle in China is also tied to the class struggle overseas. As a result, class enemies of all descriptions will continue to make their presence felt for a long time to come. We must subject them to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Though they are few in number, we must not lower our guard or relax our vigilance against them. Besides, vestiges of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the ideology of the feudal classes will continue to influence our people. We must wage a protracted struggle against these vestiges and educate our people in their eradication." This paragraph tells us that class struggle has not yet come to an end. Therefore, while we are striving to achieve the four modernizations, to develop social productivity, and to improve labor efficiency, we must at the same time persist in our proper conduct of class struggle in the economic, political and ideological arena.

The acknowledgement of the continuation of class struggle does not imply a possible repetition of large-scale stormy class struggle involving the broad masses. This is because class struggle is no longer a major contradiction of our society. The class struggle during the current stage will take a new form with the following new features: First of all, the class struggle of the past was a life-or-death struggle between the proletariat and all exploitative classes. Now, classes opposed to the proletariat no longer exist. Under the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, class enemies can no longer band themselves into a full-fledged reactionary class in open conflict with the proletariat. Therefore, class struggle today and in the future will not be a struggle of one class against another as occurred in history. Secondly, so long as class enemies cannot operate in the open and cannot form a full-fledged social class, our struggle against them will not and should not take the form

of a nationwide mass campaign. The correct form should be to localize class struggle and to confine it to specific issues. Thirdly, class struggle of the past was always a struggle to seize political power or to defend that power, or a struggle between seizure and counter-seizure of political power. Class struggle today and in the future will take the form of a struggle for the preservation and for the service of our socialist modernization program. In other words, it will be a struggle between those who defend the four modernizations and those who sabotage them. It is inconceivable that in the course of the great struggle to achieve the four modernizations we will not run into obstacles or resistance of one kind or another or face sabotage by class enemies. Moreover, we must open our eyes to the fact that beyond our borders imperialism, social imperialism and hegemonism are creating an international environment that will also affect the pursuit of our four modernizations at home. For instance, there can be an enemy invasion into China. There can be regional wars and even world wars. Such eventualities will afford the remnants of the reactionary classes an opportunity for sabotage and trouble-making. Therefore, while we are engaged in our modernization drive, we cannot relax our political vigilance. We must make stability and unity last politically and socially. If we should lull ourselves into believing that class struggle is a dead issue, that we can now mothball our weapons and rest our battle horses, that we can now sleep peacefully with our heads resting on thick pillows, and that we can leave the few counterrevolutionaries and criminals alone with their mischief, we would be imperiling stability and unity as well as our drive to achieve the four modernizations. If we are to consolidate and develop our current level of stability and unity and see the four modernizations to fruition, we must guard stability and unity as jealously as if we were guarding our own eyeballs and deal severely with class enemies engaged in sabotage.

Some comrades argue that since the classes antagonistic to the proletariat have dissolved, why do we need the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marxism tells us that the suppression of the rebellion of antagonistic classes is not the only objective of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin once pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat means the repression of the bourgeoisie, a minority among the people. It also means the exercise of democracy to the fullest extent. It means that all the people can equally and fully participate in running the state and in solving all complicated problems that come with abolishing capitalism." Comrade Mao Zedong put it well when he said: "We use the method of democracy toward the people and the method of dictatorship against the reactionaries. When these two methods are combined, it is called the people's democratic dictatorship." These words make it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is intended not only to suppress the rebellion of antagonistic classes but also to fulfill such important missions as stimulating socialist economic construction and safeguarding socialist democracy. Just imagine, if we do not practice and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, how can we safeguard people's democracy under international conditions as they exist and with class struggle still continuing at home? How can we protect people's interests? Can we go about our four modernizations in an atmosphere of stability and unity? Apparently not. Therefore, a recognition of the fundamental changes in China's class structure does not imply a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, we must keep it up and strengthen it.

As we recognize that class struggle is still continuing in China at present, we must persist in the proper conduct of class struggle in the economic, political and ideological arena. However, we must realize that what is in store for us is mostly contradiction among the people themselves. Therefore, we must cultivate a correct attitude toward class struggle and evaluate its urgency on a case-by-case basis. We must strictly differentiate and properly handle contradictions of two different types. When we run into an internal contradiction among the people themselves, we should use the method of democratic persuasion, following the procedure of unity-criticism-unity. We should refrain from indiscriminate use of such words as keylink, political line and "class struggle" in such a situation. We should not jump to the conclusion that any contradiction between aggressiveness and conservatism, any difference in professional opinions, any difference in academic viewpoints, and any criticism submitted to the leadership about our shortcomings and errors in our work is automatically a "new trend of class struggle" and an anti-party and anti-socialist form of class struggle. Even when we do see class struggle shaping up in an unmistakable form, we must deal with it strictly according to our socialist law. In short, if we are to see the fundamental changes in China's class structure as they really are and to properly cope with class struggle at the present stage, we must fight two tendencies: the tendency to write off class struggle as a dead issue as well as the tendency to overexaggerate the urgency of class struggle. Only thus can we effectively deal with our true enemies, protect good people, safeguard socialist democracy, unite with all the forces that can be united, bring all positive factors into full play, and make concerted effort to achieve the four modernizations.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### HENAN PROCURATORATE HOLDS MEETING ON STUDYING LAWS

Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 79 HK

[Summary] From 16 to 23 August, the Henan Provincial People's Procuratorate held a meeting of all prefectural and municipal chief procurators. The meeting conveyed and implemented the spirit of the national forum on procuratorial work and studied the seven laws adopted at the 2d session of the Fifth NPC. Some county chief procurators and representatives of units concerned at the provincial level also attended.

The meeting held: "Procuratorial organs at all levels in our province must make good preparations for the enforcement of the new laws. Under the leadership of party committees at all levels, cadres whose thinking and health are good must be selected to reinforce procuratorial organs at all levels. We must step up the training of cadres engaged in procuratorial work and enhance their work level. We must actively do well the work of clearing up cases and, in coordination with the departments concerned, conduct publicity and education in the legal system."

Hu Lijiao, second secretary of the provincial CCP committee and vice chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee, attended and spoke. He emphatically pointed out: "Party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over procuratorial work and assign sufficient and competent cadres for the procuratorates. They must also take effective measures to solve the procuratorates' housing problem and problems related to communication and procuratorial work. They must create favorable conditions for carrying out procuratorial work in an all-round way."

The comrades at the meeting declared: "We must not disappoint the party and the people. We must resolutely carry out the glorious duty of the procuratorial organs and actively make contributions to consolidating and developing the excellent situation of stability and unity and to defending the four modernizations."

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### VICTIMIZED MEMBERS OF 'LOAFERS' HALL' EXONERATED

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0711 GMT 18 Aug 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, 18 Aug--The party organizations of the Ministry of Culture recently issued a circular on reversing the decision in the case of "the loafers' hall" [Er Liu Tang 0059 3177 1016] and exonerating all comrades who were involved in the case.

During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, people from culture, drama, movie, fine arts and journalism circles who transferred to Chongqing from Shanghai and other localities had no place to live and temporarily settled in Comrade Tang Yu's home. Without permanent jobs, most of these young people led a rather difficult life at that time. Comrade Zhou Enlai showed deep concern about them. He assigned Comrade Xia Yan to constantly help them. Comrades Quo Moruo and Xu Bing also frequently visited them at Tang Yu's home. A rewritten theatrical play "Loafers" was performed at an evening gathering in celebration of the fifth anniversary of the publication of Chongqing's XINHUA RIBAO, and everybody enjoyed this play immensely. Those comrades had no permanent jobs and drifted from place to place. As a result, some comrades jokingly described themselves as a group of "loafers" and called the place where they lived "the loafers' hall." It was a very popular joke among them at that time. This "loafers' hall" was frequently visited by Wu Zuguang, Lu En, Ding Cong, Zhang Zhengyu, Yu Feng, Huang Miaozi, Zhang Guangyu, Sheng Jialun and Dai Hao.

The circular of the Ministry of Culture's party organizations says: During the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries in 1955, a wrong decision was made due to a lack of complete understanding of "the loafers' hall." Motivated by unspeakable criminal attempts, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" condemned "the loafers' hall" as "a counterrevolutionary petofi club" during the Great Cultural Revolution. The spearhead of their attack was directly aimed at Comrade Zhao Enlai. But many persons were persecuted and harassed in the attack on Comrade Zhou Enlai.

The circular points out: Through repeated investigations and study in the past several years, countless facts indicate that the so-called "loafers' hall" was a place for liaison between our party and a handful of people



outside the party, and that those who maintained contacts with "the loafers' hall" at that time were progressive elements fighting for democracy. Therefore, the circular points out that all groundless slanders against the alleged "loafers' hall" must be overturned and those who were attacked because of their involvement with "the loafers' hall" should also be completely exonerated.

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### HONG KONG JOURNAL REPORTS ON HU FENG INCIDENT

Hong Kong CHENGMING in Chinese 1 Aug 79 pp 18-21 HK

[Article by Hao Hao: "The True Facts of the Hu Feng Incident--Part I]

[Text] A friend who is versed in five foreign languages said that he saw a monograph on the Hu Feng problem which was published in Japan. This shows that Japan still has scholars who specially study the "Hu Feng problem." It seems that in future there will be many scholars who will study the historical phenomenon of the "Hu Feng incident" from different angles: the history of modern Chinese literature must surely include it; due to the fact that in the middle of the 1950's the PRC whipped up a nationwide mighty political movement to oppose the "Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique," this problem goes far beyond the scope of literature.

However, to understand the background and the cause and effect of this political movement to oppose the "Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique" in the 1950's, we must trace matters back to the 1930's.

'Hidden Traitor' in the 1930's

Hu Feng was originally called Zhang Guangren, alias Zhang Guangying or Zhang Gufei, a native of Qichun County in Hubei Province. In the period of the first revolutionary civil war, he joined the CYL but withdrew from it in Beijing in 1925. After the great revolution failed in 1927, he successively acted as Hubei provincial Kuomintang secretary, propaganda section head of the political department of the "suppressing communists" 31st Army, chief editor of the supplement of the MINGUO RIBAO, a Jiangxi provincial Kuomintang party organ paper, and also held other posts. Subsequently, he went to Japan for a certain period. Shortly after he returned from Japan in 1933, on the one hand he acted as an editor in the Zhongshan Culture and Education Hall, using the name of Zhang Guangren, and on the other he joined the leftwing writers' alliance, using the name of Gufei.

This happened in Lu Xun's last years. He lived in Shanghai under white terror and it was extremely difficult to get in touch with underground

party members and the progressive masses. In such a complicated situation, there were misunderstandings and contradictions between Lu Xun and underground communist party members, such as Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Tian Han, Yang Hansheng and Xu Maoyong (of course, these people had shortcomings and did not sufficiently understand and respect Lu Xun). Although they were all underground communist party members, there were misunderstandings and contradictions between Feng Xuefeng, sent from Yanan, and Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and others in Shanghai. Hu Feng kept close contacts with Lu Xun at this time and Lu Xun trusted Hu Feng more than other communist party members in the "leftwing writers' alliance." Hu Feng was a key man in the relations between Lu Xun and communist party members like Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and others, between Feng Xuefeng and Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and others, who were all communist members, and even in the complicated and contradictory relations between Lu Xun and Mao Dun.

One day in 1935, Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Tian Han and Yang Hansheng made an appointment with Lu Xun for a talk in the Uchiyama Book Store. They specially told Lu Xun that Hu Feng was a hidden traitor. Lu Xun did not believe this and asked for evidence. People like Zhou Yang said that the information came from Mu Mutian, who had been arrested and later released. Lu Xun held that this evidence was not convincing and he flatly disbelieved it. On the contrary, he had a prejudice against these four persons.

In the second half of 1935, Chen Wangdao and Zheng Zhenduo learned from their acquaintances in Nanjing that Hu Feng was of suspicious appearance and dubious background and might possibly have relations with the Kuomintang. Having learned of this, Mao Dun also told Lu Xun this information. On hearing this from Mao Dun, Lu Xun suddenly changed his facial expression and said something else. After that, Mao Dun was unable to have a good talk with Lu Xun, who kept aloof from Mao Dun. Not until September 1978 did Mao Dun write an article, relating to this problem. He still said: "I really do not understand why Hu Feng was so spell-binding that Lu Xun turned a deaf ear to any word of suspicion about him." (See "Some Facts Which Need Clarification," carried in the second issue of the XINWENXUE SHILIAO [Historical Data of New Literature].)

It was because Lu Xun turned a deaf ear to a single word of suspicion of Hu Feng that Xu Maoyong, then standing secretary of the "leftwing writers' alliance," wrote a letter to Lu Xun, criticizing Hu Feng: "... you have not discerned and have been misled by Hu Feng's deceitful nature and Wang Yuan's flattery. They delude the masses and appear like idols. Due to their ambition, the separation therefore became unmanageable. Obviously out of selfishness, the actions of some people including Hu Feng constituted extremely factional activities and their theory was contradictory and riddled with mistakes."

In his letter, "Reply to Xu Maoyong on the Issue of the Anti-Japanese United Front," Lu Xun revealed to the public the talk between him and Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Tian Han and Yang Hansheng in the Uchiyama Book Store the preceding year, when he was informed that Hu Feng was a hidden traitor. He also

acrimoniously called these four persons the "four villains" (in the cultural revolution, the term "four villains" was used by Jiang Qing as a "charge" against these four persons by way of revenge). This letter did its best to protect Hu Feng and to defend him: "Tian Han and Zhou Qiyang (Zhou Yang) said that Hu Feng was a 'hidden traitor.' In fact, he is not. They told a lie." "Therefore, I have come to understand that Hu Feng is upright, bears no malice and is approachable. I have begun suspecting and hating young people like Zhou Qiyang who lightly bring false charges against people. Naturally, Zhou Qiyang may have good points and may not act like this in future. He can still become a real revolutionary. Hu Feng also has his shortcomings, he is nervous and is loaded down with trivial details. Theoretically, he tends to be slightly pedantic and is unwilling to use the language of ordinary people. Apparently, he is a promising youth and has not opposed the anti-Japanese movement or the united front..."

Lu Xun-Hu Feng-Feng Xuefeng-Zhou Yang

On 1 August 1935, the Chinese Communist Party published a manifesto, putting forward a proposal to the Kuomintang government and all parties and people of all circles throughout the country to cease civil war and organize concerted resistance against Japan. In December of the same year, it further decided on the policy of building the national united front against Japan, which won the support of the people of the whole country and promoted the upsurge of resistance against Japan at that time. In such a situation at that time, the Shanghai literary circles unfolded a controversy between the two slogans, "National Defense Literature" and "Popular Literature of the National Revolutionary War."

People like Zhou Yang and Xia Yan advocated "National Defense Literature," while people such as Lu Xun and Hu Feng preached "Popular Literature of National Revolutionary War." Hu Feng happened to get involved in this controversy.

Last year a journal in Hong Kong published a report on a visit to Zhao Haosheng, "Zhou Yang Chats About Merits and Faults in History." In dealing with this controversy, Zhou Yang said: "At that time, Hu Feng wrote an article advocating 'popular literature of national revolutionary war.' At that time, we did not really know that Lu Xun let him write this article. Hu Feng was originally a leading member of the 'leftwing writers' alliance' but not a communist party member. We suspected him long ago. He then stirred up ill feeling between our underground party and Lu Xun. Some comrades of our underground party who were engaged in literature and art work were greatly dissatisfied with his article. They all felt that the 'National Defense Literature' advocated by us was welcomed very much.... We felt that if we advocated national defense literature, while he preached another slogan, this would disperse our strength. We, therefore, launched a dispute with Hu Feng. Surely it was out of factional feelings that they took exception to what he said or did because they were not sure of him in every aspect and suspected his personal history.... They disputed with him on everything he proposed."

On 10 August 1966, just after the cultural revolution began, Feng Xuefeng wrote a copy of materials, "On the Course of the Actions of People Including Zhou Yang in 1936 and the Slogan 'Popular Literature of National Revolutionary War' preached by Lu Xun." Regarding relations among Lu Xun-Hu Feng-Zhou Yang-Feng Xuefeng, he said: "At that time, Hu Feng had close contacts with Lu Xun and the latter really trusted the former. Before I left Shanghai in 1933, I also had close contacts with Hu Feng and never suspected him. Before I looked for Lu Xun in the afternoon of that day after I arrived in Shanghai this time (in April 1936, the CCP Central Committee sent Feng to work in Shanghai from Wayaobao in north Shaanxi), I first went to Uchiyama Book Store to see what was going on. Kaneo Uchiyama saw me and told me that Lu Xun still lived in his former residence. Shortly after I went to Lu Xun's house, Hu Feng went to Uchiyama Book Store and, learning from Kaneo Uchiyama that I had already gone to Lu Xun's house, he immediately went to Lu Xun's house but was turned back at the door by Lu Xun's old housekeeper, who said that there was [no] such person. I was then on the first floor and heard the voices downstairs. Hu Feng went to Lu Xun's house next afternoon, when I was on the second floor. Lu Xun went up to the second floor and said to me: 'A person called Zhang Gufei (Hu Feng's original name) wants to see you. What do you think? I said: 'Good, I have been acquainted with him.' I immediately went downstairs and took him up to the second floor. Hu Feng talked about the situation in the literary circles at that time and more about various people including Zhou Yang. At that time, he was seriously antagonistic to Zhou Yang. We then talked about the slogan 'National Defense Literature' and Hu Feng said that many people did not agree to it and that Lu Xun also objected to it. I said that I knew Lu Xun objected, that this slogan had no class standpoint and that another slogan of leftwing literature with clearcut standpoint could be put forward. Hu Feng said that in the period around 'December 8' Qu Qiubai and you (referring to me) wrote articles which made mention of literature of national revolutionary war. Could 'Literature of National Revolutionary War' be put forward? I said that there was no need to seek a basis from 'December 8.' And that there were mistakes in the articles written at that time. We must now put forward the slogan in accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's policy of the national united front against Japan. Later, I said again that the term 'National Revolutionary War' already possessed class standpoint and that, if we added 'Popular Literature,' the standpoint would be more clearcut and could be put forward as a slogan created by leftwing writers. Hu Feng agreed but held that the phrase was a bit too long. He and I went down to the first floor and consulted with Lu Xun, who held that it was necessary to put forward a new slogan of leftwing writers, that the word 'popular' was necessary and that, as a slogan, it was not too long and it did not matter if it was a bit too long.... When Hu Feng was about to leave, he said that he would write an article to propose the slogan and Lu Xun and I agreed.... After Hu Feng returned and before the article was published, literary circles talked about this new slogan because, after Hu Feng returned, he and people around him had publicized this new slogan. Some people said that so-and-so from north Shaanxi (referring to Feng Xuefeng himself) had proposed this new slogan;



some said that, with the approval of the person from north Shaanxi, Hu Feng had put forward this new slogan; and some others said that Hu Feng had proposed this new slogan after asking instructions from Lu Xun. There were many versions.... After Hu Feng's article appeared at the end of May, articles refuting Hu Feng's article and in favor of the new slogan were all published at the beginning of June.... Many articles contained words which objected to Hu Feng and Lu Xun.... The literary circles were not closely united and, as the controversy between the two slogans began, antagonism among literary circles became more serious. Lu Xun was sick at that time.... When Zhou Yang attacked Lu Xun, he also attacked me. When he knew that I had arrived in Shanghai and was linked to the new slogan, he spread rumors about me, such as 'assuming the name of the central authorities,' 'imperial envoy,' 'colluding with Hu Feng,' 'under the guise of Lu Xun' and so on."

#### Formation of the Faction of Hu Feng

After the outbreak of the war against Japan in 1937, Hu Feng went to Wuhan and founded a journal, JULY. Through JULY he united around him a large number of young literature workers: A Long, Lu Yuan, Geng Zhuo, Lu Dian, Jia Zhifang, Lu Ling, Fang Ran, Lu Li, Bo Shan, Ji Fang, Lu Ying, Hua Tie, Luo Luo, Zhuang Yong and others. In Chongqing in 1942 and 1943, financed by a young person called Zhu Guhuai, Hu Feng set up a publishing organ which continuously published the works of those who regularly wrote poems for JULY. He called these works the "July Anthology of Poems." The organ also published the novel by Lu Ling, "Thirsty and Hungry Gao Sue."

Hu Feng made active preparations in Chongqing in 1944 for the publication of the journal, HOPE, and published the first issue in 1945. Hu Feng and his followers gradually formed a school of literature. They had their own views of literature and wrote works representing these views. Through the introduction by Lu Ling, Hu Feng made the acquaintance of Shu Wu. According to what Shu Wu said later, he was then "tired of Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois individualist 'emancipation of individual character' which he himself required was suppressed by Marxist-Leninist materialism and the method of class analysis." Thus, he became a "philosopher" of this school of literature. The first issue of HOPE published "On the Subjective" by Shu Wu, and the second issue carried his "On the Middle Way." These two articles systematically preached the philosophical views of the faction of Hu Feng. Hu Feng himself wrote "Place Myself in the Midst of the Struggle for Democracy"; A Long wrote "Point the Spearhead at----"; Fang Ran wrote "Annotate 'the Requirements of the Combat'" and "Annotate 'the Process'." In addition, the journal also carried stories by members of this school including Lu Ling and Jia Zhifang, poems by Lu Yuan, Ji Fang, Lu Li, Sun Dian, Hua Tie and Zhu Guhuai, essays by Geng Yong and other articles.

In the progressive cultural circles in the regions then dominated by the Kuomintang, the faction of Hu Feng not only developed a school of their own but also had strong exclusiveness. They closely hung together and

flattered each other. None of them could be touched. They rigidly excluded other people. After the publication of "On the Subjective" and "Place Myself in the Midst of the Struggle for Democracy," progressive literary and artistic circles in Chongqing held a forum which was presided over by Feng Naichao. They put forward their views on these two articles. However, Hu Feng was extremely dissatisfied with the speakers, condemning Mao Dun, the first speaker, as a "sordid merchant who lifts his head," and condemning the other speakers as "writers who lift their feet." Hou Wailu pointed out at the forum that the comments of "On the Subjective" on the issue of outlook on life was completely similar to the "philosophy of action" preached by (Peili), the Italian fascist philosopher, and its conception of history came from the "Theory of Equilibrium" by Bukharin. Hu Feng called him "politician philosopher."

After the victory of the war of resistance, from 1946 to 1948, a large number of publications written by the faction of Hu Feng emerged in various places throughout the country. They consisted of journals, supplements and collections of books, such as "Huxi," "Nitu," "Huangji," "Mayi," "Hengmei," "Shudao," "Qingguang," "Xinmin Fukan," and so on. Hu Feng also set up "Xiwangshe" and "Nitushe" and other publishing organizations. They made use of this position to publish works which lavished praise on their own people and attacked at will writers and works outside their faction.

#### Sweep Away All Writers 'Who Hold Different Views' and Their Works

In literary and art criticism, the faction of Hu Feng did not seriously investigate the advantages and disadvantages of fine arts but rudely swept away all works by those who held different views. They even hurled abuse at and launched personal attacks on writers who held different views. They criticized historical plays by Guo Moruo as "abstract (false) patriotism.... And even as surrendering to the decadent taste of feudal morals of being loyal to the emperor and cherishing the country, with spy stories and pornography." In the third issue of "Huxi," "On the Realistic Road" described "Hufu" as a "silent lantern show." They said that "Kunshouji" by Sha Ding was a thing "which poured ridicule on trifles." It became a "scale of a dead fish." The writer of "Taojinji" wanted to "show off his wit" and it was a "lifeless diagram." They swore at the play, "Around Qingming," by Mao Dun, cursed the film, "Reminiscences of Jiangnan," by Tian Han, and even abused at Zhu Ziqing as a figure who "practically used materials from pornographic publications" and who "faced life with 'his back.'" They condemned Wen Yiduo as "speculative"; Feng Zhi as a "degenerate poet"; Guo Moruo as a "preacher of the theory of unconditioned reflex, a gifted scholar who was accustomed to flaunting his seniority, a rogue and a metaphysician"; and "Ma Yanxiang as a "lower class propagandist." In addition, people like Shao Quanlin, Lin Mohan, Huang Yaomian, Shi Yi, Jiang Tianzuo, Li Guangtian, Yao Xueyin, Bian Zhilin... were all cursed by them.

They were dissatisfied with "Shengguantu" which caused a sensation in the theater at that time. In the fourth issue of ITU, they called this play a "degenerate play" and even called its writer a "degenerate person." They said that the writer of this play "did his best to write to cater to the sexual desires of the spectators and to provoke their base sense organs," that "this was philistinism cloaked with reality and engaging in lascivious activities in public in broad daylight under the pretext of 'exposing hideousness.'" They even launched a personal attack on Chen Baichen, its writer: "When we watch 'Shengguantu,' we faintly see that the writer is an animal seized with sexual desire and that he who cannot have his sexual desire satisfied in his life allows the spectators, readers and himself to have their sexual desire satisfied through the figures whom he 'created' in his works and on the stage." They also said: "'Shengguantu' was performed in Shanghai for 4 consecutive months. There were more than 100 performances and it caused a sensation in the whole municipality." "Playwright Chen Baichen therefore became rich, had gold bars, dwelled in a Western-style building and bought brand-new Western-style furniture."

They looked down upon the writers and works in the liberated region and said: "The works of Liu Baiyu and Zhou Erfu are stereotyped. Although they wrote 'People's Heroes,' in the absence of experience in real combat, what they wrote were not really 'new' and not real 'people.'" (in the third issue of "Huxi")

Around 1947, when the war of liberation reached the decisive stage, to avoid the cruel persecution by Chiang Kai-shek, some writers directly entered the liberated region and some others came to Hong Kong to await the change to go to the liberated region. The faction of Hu Feng hurled abuse at these writers, calling them "cowards," "a young master hidden in Hong Kong island," "an 'overseas hero' who was divorced from the people and history and fled abroad and who escaped abroad and slept there," and "a low-spirited and degenerate hypocrite who persuaded people to tell lies, allowed people to do evil things and pretended to do good things." (In the sixth issue of "Nitu": "Empty Talk and Others.")

In 1948 people of the PRC cultural circles in Hong Kong, including Shao Quanlin, Qiao Guanhua, Feng Naichao, Lin Mohan, Hu Sheng and others, published DAZHONG WENYI CUNKAN and launched open criticism of the faction of Hu Feng. Hu Feng did not yield willingly and wrote "On the Realistic Road" by way of refutation.

### 300,000-Word 'Letter of Opinion'

In May 1949, Hu Feng came to Hong Kong from Shanghai and arrived in Beijing via northeast China. In July, he attended the All-China Congress (this was the first congress of literature and art workers) of Literature and Art Workers and was a member of the presidium of the congress. He was elected by the congress a member of All-Chinese Federation of Literature and Art Circles and a standing committee member of the All-China Association of Literature Workers. Hu Feng was in Shanghai in the preliminary period of liberation and moved to Beijing in July 1953.

In the initial period of liberation, Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that it was necessary to criticize Hu Feng's thinking on literature and art. Shu Wu, "philosopher" in the faction of Hu Feng, was the first one who soon rose in revolt and wrote a self-criticism article "Study From the Beginning 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'" and an "Open Letter to Lu Ling," declaring his formal separation from the faction of Hu Feng and revealing that they were a "small clique" and that they had called Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art" the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. Hu Feng regarded Shu Wu as a "renegade" and later called him "shameless."

In December 1952, the All-China Association on Literature Workers (the predecessor of the Association of Chinese Writers) held a "discussion meeting on Hu Feng's thinking on literature and art." At the meeting, Zhou Yang spoke, saying that Hu Feng "supported Comrade Mao Zedong in political attitude" and "stood together with the party in the main political orientation and in political struggle." He also said the "Hu Feng really grasped the weak points in our movement of literature and art, that is, its formularization and generalization."

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### PLA POLITICAL DEPARTMENT SUPPORTS REGIMENT'S METHODOLOGY

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0749 GMT 23 Aug 79 OW

[Excerpts] Beijing, 23 Aug--The propaganda department of the PLA General Political Department recently distributed throughout the army an investigation report composed by a certain regiment of the PLA Engineering Corps. This regiment's party committee attained excellent results by using examples the fighters' own home villages in carrying out education on current rural policies.

The propaganda department of the PLA General Political Department added a note to the investigation report. It emphatically pointed out: To continue to carry out study and discussion on the criterion for truth is a foundation on which we strengthen ourselves ideologically. Carrying out education among PLA units by means of social investigation and the host of vivid and concrete facts in social practice and by means of the method of integrating theory with practice--these are good educational methods.

The propaganda department's note says: At present, many units throughout the army have continued to penetratingly conduct study and discussion on practice as the sole criterion for verifying truth, while they are studying and implementing the guidelines laid down by the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the 2d session of the Fifth NPC. This issue has been grasped well and correctly. Practice has proven: in units where this work of education is carried out well, the cadres and fighters there have shown comparatively profound understanding of the party's line, principles and policies. They display a higher level of awareness in implementing the line, principles and policies. Their ideological questions have been solved comparatively well. Similarly, many comrades have understood that study and discussion on the criterion of truth is the key to unifying ideas in PLA units on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the 3d plenary session and the 2d session of the Fifth NPC. This is also the "key" to open the minds of cadres and fighters in the realm of ideology. To continue to study and discuss the criterion of truth penetratingly is of great significance. It is the foundation on which we strengthen ourselves ideologically. We must pay full attention to this question.



The ideological line is the foundation of the political line. When the ideological line is correct, it is easy to solve other problems. When the ideological line is incorrect, it will be impossible to emancipate our minds, correctly understand and consciously implement the political line, or carry out our work well. To study and discuss the criterion of truth, it is essential to conscientiously study the basic theories of dialectical materialism, break the mental chains fastened on people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and emancipate our minds. Efforts must be made to do all this in close connection with actual conditions and in all forms.

Practice is the sole criterion for verifying whether or not the party's line, principles and policies are correct. Carrying out education among the PLA units by means of social investigation and the host of vivid and concrete facts in social practice and by means of the method of integrating theory with practice--these are good educational methods.

The investigation report composed by a certain regiment of the PLA Engineering Corp says: More than 90 percent of the cadres and fighters in the regiment come from the countryside. Some time ago, a number of comrades talked a great deal about the party's current rural policies. Some thought that signing labor contracts with job groups would turn the people's communes to mutual-aid teams--an act of retrogression. The work of changing the status of landlords and rich peasants meant to "drop charges on them altogether." They worried that these landlords and rich peasants would grow arrogant and take their revenge. They thought that the trade fairs in the countryside would give a green light to speculation and profiteering and to the spread of capitalism. Some comrades worried that there were not many able-bodied members in their families and thus their families could not earn enough. Some feared that class polarization would take place in rural areas. Some individuals even believed that the party's current policies were deviating to the "right."

The regiment party committee held that practice is the sole criterion of truth. Since the questions related to the fighters' native places, they could be most convincingly answered with the practical results of implementing the party's policies in their native places. Therefore, a decision was made to form three investigation teams, each consisting of a cadre and a fighter on leave to visit his family, to conduct a month-long investigation in three counties--Liuyang in Hunan, Linshui in Sichuan and Taikang in Henan--where most of the regiment's fighters are from. After the investigation, an education campaign would be carried out in the entire regiment.

As some comrades felt that signing labor contracts with job groups was taking the "road of retrogression," the investigation teams carefully investigated how these contracts and the responsibility system worked.

1. Though there are some differences in the way they actually work, all the three counties see to it that the system under which the production

team is the basic accounting unit is not undermined; they all forbid such practices as fixing output quotas on a household basis, dividing up the land for individual farming and free association [zi you jie he 5261 3945 4814 0678] under the pretext of forming job groups; and moreover, they have not discriminated against families of soldiers, workers and cadres.

2. Since the implementation of the system of signing labor contracts with labor groups and the system of responsibility, grain production has increased.

3. The living standards of fighters' families have improved. The three investigation teams visited the families of 35 fighters of the regiment. Their living standards have improved in general, with over 90 percent of the families obviously better off than before.

With regard to the questions of some comrades who felt that the changing of the status of landlords and rich peasants was "dropping charges on them altogether" and that these landlords and rich peasants "would try to revenge themselves," the investigation teams found out that in removing the designations of landlords and rich peasants, the three counties have followed the principle of seeking truth from facts and dealt with each case on its merit, and that changing the status of the vast majority of the landlords and rich peasants, who have acquitted themselves rather well, is in keeping with the current class situation and in the interest of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With regard to some comrades' questions on trade at village fairs, the investigation teams reported that since the ban on village fairs was lifted in Liuyang, Linshui and Taikang counties, the markets have become active, supplies are abundant, and the people are happy about the change; that efforts have been made to strengthen market control and deal blows at speculators and profiteers; and that trade at village fairs has stimulated the growth of legitimate family sideline production and contributed to fulfilling state procurement tasks. This has enabled the comrades to understand that the criticism of trade at village fairs and family sideline production as "capitalism" and their banning altogether by the "gang of four" was the result of their pushing an ultraleft line and was contrary to Marxist-Leninist theories.

In the course of using the facts in fighters' native places to conduct education on the party's current rural policies, the regiment party committee has guided the comrades to use practice as the criterion and to form judgments by practical results in looking at problems and distinguishing between right and wrong, and not to base themselves on whether something was criticized in the past or whether it was written in books. Many cadres and fighters say: We should firmly support what has been tested by social practice and proved to be correct.

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### PLA HEROES' REPORT GROUP COMPLETES REPORT ACTIVITIES

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1600 GMT 24 Aug 79 OW

[Excerpts] Beijing, 24 Aug--The report group of heroes and models in the self-defense counterattack on the Sino-Vietnamese border has completed its report activities in various parts of China. All the representatives of heroes and models in the group have returned to the Guangxi and Yunnan frontier regions.

Their report activities were carried out with the attention of the party Central Committee and its military commission. Comrade Hua Guofeng and other party and state leaders cordially met with the members of the report group. The report group made 1,386 reports, which were attended by an audience totaling more than 4.35 million, in Beijing and other parts of China. Over 10 million persons listened to recordings of its reports. Newspapers, radios and television stations in Beijing and various other localities comprehensively publicized the heroes' combat deeds. During a period of nearly 3 months in which the report group was performing its report activities in various parts of the country, the group was accorded a warm welcome by the broad masses of army men and people.

The reports made by the heroes on how they fought the self-defense counter-attack against Vietnam have educated the broad masses of army men and people in patriotism and revolutionary heroism.

While making reports in various localities, the heroes visited historic sites of the revolution, including Jinggangshan, Yanan, the site of the First National Congress of the CCP, the site of the Wuchang peasants' movement seminar, Xibaipo and the Hongyan new village. They also visited various commemoration halls and exhibition halls that commemorate heroic or exemplary figures such as Bethune, Liu Hulan, Lei Feng, Dong Cunrui and Huang Jiguang; in addition, they called on the dependents of those who gave their lives during the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam.

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'GONGREN RIBAO' COMMEMORATES FORMER CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 79 p 3 HK

[Article by Zhao Wenqi [6392 2429 1477]: "In Memory of Veteran Leader and Comrade Luo Ruiqing"]

[Excerpts] One whole year has passed since our respected and beloved veteran leader and Comrade Luo Ruiqing left us.

I shall never forget that poignant moment when Comrade Luo Ruiqing, cruelly tormented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their associates who were enemies of the people, passed away; his heart stopped to beat. With profound regret he left the party and the people whom he loved so much. It was his strong desire to do something more for the party and the people and to carry more loads for the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng in the course of the new long march toward the realization of the four modernizations.

I was assigned to Comrade Luo Ruiqing in 1950. After the antiparty clique of the "gang of four" was smashed, I was reassigned to him. After a lapse of more than a decade, I found he had aged considerably. His hair had turned grey, his back a little hunched and his face wrinkled. However, his eyes shining, he was still as determined and strong as he was in the old days. Prolonged persecution failed to break his will. Instead, he felt extremely sad that he was deprived of the right to serve the party and the people for more than 10 years. Therefore, in his old age and with a sick body he unhesitatingly carried the heavy load entrusted to him by the party and the people and fought until his last breath.

In order to remove an obstacle to their attempt to seize party leadership and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" blatantly charged Comrade Luo Ruiqing with opposing Chairman Mao, and subjected him to ruthless persecution. But the frameup could neither shatter his firm revolutionary will nor shake his deep respect of and faith in Chairman Mao. In February 1977 I accompanied Comrade Luo Ruiqing to Hunan. While in Changsha we visited Chairman Mao's old residence where he directed revolutionary activities in the early years, and then we drove to Shaoshan.

visiting Chairman Mao's hometown had been Comrade Luo Ruiqing's big wish. He said: "I am so old now. While I can still move, I want to visit Chairman Mao's hometown again. There may not be a chance for me to do so in the future."

The profound feelings Comrade Luo Ruiqing cherished for Chairman Mao stemmed from his firm faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and from his scientific approach. He waged an uncompromising struggle against the evil acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to deify Chairman Mao and ossify his thought. After he returned to work, he lost no opportunity to arduously study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings. Whenever he went out, he asked us to bring the books along, so he could read them on the train or in the plane. Though his daily task was so strenuous, he still managed to find some time to study before he went to bed. Even on the eve of his death, he read assiduously. Facts show that Comrade Luo Ruiqing was really a loyal fighter defending the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Luo Ruiqing led a strictly frugal life. He never made any special demands, nor did he allow us to demand any special treatment for him. After the smashing of the "gang of four," he wrote quite a number of articles at the request of newspapers and publishing houses. Every time payments were delivered to him, he asked me to give a part of them to the comrades who assisted him in writing the articles and the remainder to the party as membership dues.

Comrade Luo Ruiqing was a very modest man. In ordinary times he used to say to us: "You are my secretaries. But you must not think that everything I say or do is correct because I am your chief. If you have any opinions or suggestions about work, go ahead and raise them." He always seriously listened to our opinions and adopted them if they were correct.

Comrade Luo Ruiqing left us a year ago. I have continued to think about him. He was a great fighter tested by more than 50 years of brutal struggle, and like other revolutionaries of the older generation, he lives eternally in our hearts. His brilliant achievements and lofty image will not go dim with the passage of time. On the contrary, the more people know about him, the more they love and remember him.

CSO: 4005



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'JIEFANGJUN BAO' CARRIES NEWSLETTER ON RURAL POLICY

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1159 GMT 16 Aug 79 OW

[JIEFANGJUN BAO 16 August newsletter: "From Misgivings to Feeling at Ease, on a Lesson Learned by Fighters of the Recoilless Gun Company of the 1st Regiment of the Nanjing PLA Units on a Current Rural Policy--Signing Labor Contracts With Job Groups"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 16 Aug--The newsletter says: Fighter Cha Cai's mother came to the company to visit her son. She talked about the system of fixed responsibility in production under which "labor contracts were signed with job groups and earnings were calculated on the basis of output in production." Such a system was implemented in production teams. This created different views in the company. Some people were worried if this practice was retrogressive. Others wondered if this would bring about polarization. Still others were worried: How could agricultural mechanization be achieved if a production team was divided into several groups?

Political instructor Li Yuanqin noticed the fighters' misgivings. He thought: The practice of signing labor contracts with job groups and calculating earnings on the basis of output in production is an important party policy now being implemented in the rural areas. Most of our fighters come from the countryside. They are closely related with this policy. If measures are not taken in time to help fighters free their minds of misgivings, such misgivings will affect the stability of their minds and hamper the implementation of the guidelines laid down by the 3d plenum of the CCP Central Committee. Thus he did two things:

First, he organized the whole company to conscientiously study the guidelines laid down by the 3d plenum, the two documents issued by the party Central Committee on the development of agriculture, the articles carried by newspapers in this regard and the reference material on policy issued them by the higher authorities. He helped fighters in the company to understand that the system of fixed responsibility in production under which labor contracts are signed with job groups and earnings calculated on the basis of output in production is being implemented under the prerequisite of unified accounting and distribution in production teams.

Second, he led some comrades to conduct investigations in nearby Chongzhuang No 1 Production Team to study the role of the practice of signing job contracts with job groups in actual production.

The newsletter says: It was on this basis that fighters of the whole company were organized to carry out discussions in close connection with what they had in mind and they were helped one by one to free their minds of misgivings.

The practice of signing labor contracts with job groups is obviously conducive to socialist construction in the countryside. Why are some comrades so worried about this practice? Political instructor Li led all fighters to discover the root causes for this. In the course of discussion, some people said: This is entirely because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted their ultraleft line and confused right from wrong. People were unable to distinguish genuine socialism from the sham socialism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Others said: One important reason is that we have not studied the party's guiding principles and policies hard enough.

The newsletter concludes: Having found the root causes of their misgivings, the comrades of the whole company have become even more serious. Instead of worrying, they feel at ease. The fighters even more firmly believe that the party's policies are correct. They enthusiastically write letters to their friends and relatives to popularize the party's policies and encourage them to take the lead in implementing the guidelines laid down by the third plenum.

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### DRAMA SHOWS OSSIFIED MENTALITY IMPEDING MODERNIZATION

Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 24 Aug 79 OW

[Excerpts] Since its debut on the Beijing stage a few weeks ago, the modern drama "Call of the Future," written by Comrade Zhao Zixiong of the Qinghai Provincial Modern Drama Troupe, has been greeted with tremendous enthusiasm and aroused strong reactions from persons in all walks of life. The station reporter on 22 August paid a visit to Comrade Zhao Zixiong, who had just returned to Xining from Beijing, and interviewed him on his experience in writing this dramatic hit, "Call of the Future."

Touching on the theme and characters of his play, Comrade Zhao Zixiong said: "In the heyday of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' the literary art workers were victims of various forms of persecution. After the 'gang of four' was smashed by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, spring once again returned to literary and art circles, and we are greatly inspired, hoping that the four modernizations will be realized at an early date and China will become a powerful country. But when I visited Hunan, Wuhan, Shanghai and Guangxi last year, I discovered all kinds of problems there. Why? Are the problems caused by the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four?' I finally got the correct answer to all these problems after studying the communique of the party's 3d plenary session. Many comrades among us are not bad, nor are they followers of the 'gang of four.' But because of the interference and influence of the ultraleftist ideology advocated by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' over a long period of time, these comrades have become ossified in thinking, adhered to convention and remained where they are. As far as the organizational principle is concerned, these comrades have not committed any mistakes. I point to the fact, however, it is none other than these comrades of ours who have slowed down our work and become an obstacle to our struggle to achieve the four modernizations. Therefore, they are guilty before 800 million people. In dealing with a question of this nature, we must employ different means in the form of literature and art to reflect their problem, criticize these comrades and assist them at the same time."

When Comrade Zhao Zixiong arrived in Beijing in February this year, he received warm support from a modern drama troupe, and his play, "Call of the Future," was accepted by the leading personnel and members of this

troupe. However, Comrade Zhao Zixiong encountered trouble after his play was submitted to the higher level party committee for approval. Filled with anger, Comrade Zhao Zixiong went to see a certain comrade of the Ministry of Culture. This comrade from the Culture Ministry promised to give full support to him after patiently reading his script. Afterwards the People's Publishing House also approved this play, and the Central Experimental Drama Institute decided to put this play on stage.

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### CYL, EDUCATION MINISTRY HOLD FORUM ON COMMUNIST ETHICS

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1317 GMT 26 Aug 79 OW

[Excerpts] Beijing, 26 Aug--Initial success has been achieved in education in communist ethics among young people in 12 cities. At its closing session yesterday, the forum on education in communist ethics for young people in 12 cities urged all departments concerned to do a good job in this area all year round by pooling manpower and adopting effective measures, so as to achieve still greater results within 1 or 2 years.

This forum was sponsored jointly by the CYL Central Committee and the Ministry of Education in Beijing on 20 August. The 12 cities that sent representatives to attend this forum were Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Shenyang, Harbin, Guangzhou, Wuhan Xian, Taiyuan and Chongqing.

At the forum the participants noted happily the educational program in communist ethics launched among the young people by the CYL organizations and education and public security departments in those cities after the first forum on education in communist ethics in the 12 cities was held in June of this year. Employing every possible means, various localities have provided jobs of large numbers of youth awaiting employment; they have also launched publicity on the legal system and carried out the work of reforming youth who committed crimes. Schools and neighborhoods have also begun summer activities in various forms. At present the number of cases of juvenile crime has dropped. The representatives said: Facts have shown that education in communist ethics among the young people makes the difference.

Those comrades who spoke at the forum urged the whole of society to rally all forces; communist party members and the masses must do their share in bringing up and educating the younger generation.

It was pointed out at the forum that morality and social customs cannot be shaped overnight. CYL organizations and educational departments must not carry out pro-forma education in communist ethics by only rendering lip service but must work in a down-to-earth way and strive to achieve noticeable results in bringing up a new generation within the next 1 or 2 years.



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' URGES ELIMINATION OF GANG'S ART LINE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 79 p 3 HK

[Article by Zheng Wen [6774 3080]: "Further Wipe Out the Ultraleftist Pernicious Influence of the 'Summary'"]

[Excerpts] The "Summary of the Forum on Literary and Art Work for the Armed Forces," jointly concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," was an ultraleftist literature and art program. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," criticism of the "Summary" was stalled for a time. People viewed the elimination of the "Summary" approvingly when its talisman was forcibly removed under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng.

The "Summary" caused great havoc during the cultural revolution. Since dishing up the "Summary," Lin Biao and Jiang Qing branded all literary and art circles as a "dictatorship of the sinister line." This engulfed all sectors throughout the country and culminated in a frenzied series of counterrevolutionary, retaliatory counterattacks directed against the party and people. The ruinous havoc produced in its wake was obvious to all.

The theory of "the dictatorship of the sinister line" has now been debunked. Many of its victims in literary and art circles have been rehabilitated and their honor restored. Is it safe to say that the task of criticizing the "Summary" has been accomplished? However, for various reasons, criticism of the "Summary" over the past 2 years or so is still far from effective. Its remnant poison has not been completely eliminated while its theoretical basis has not been effectively stamped out. What is particularly noteworthy is that the "Summary's" departed soul has recently again been revived in the wake of the resurgence of the trend of thought related to opposing from the "left" or doubting the spirit of the 3d plenum of the Central Committee.

In promoting the theory of "the dictatorship of the sinister line," the "Summary" completely disclaimed the contributions of the proletarian literature and art movement. It offered a whole series of ultraleftist fallacies about literature and art while trying to hamper with Mao Zedong

Thought on literature and art. These included the theories of "the fundamental task," of "rebuilding the ranks," of opposing "writing about truth," of opposing "the broad road of realism," of opposing "deepening realism," that "subject matter determines everything," and so forth. These fallacies must be further reckoned with.

Lenin once said: "Opportunism is not a product of chance. Rather, it is the product of the entire historical era, not the guilt, negligence and desertion of individuals." Although Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were the chief culprits in pursuing an ultraleftist line, the engendering and spread of this line could not be attributed to the wishes of a few counterrevolutionary careerists and conspirators. There were profound social and historical root causes for the "Summary" to emerge and spread in our country which has been deeply influenced by thousands of years of feudalism and what it stands for. The "Summary" was based on the literary and art views of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," an ideological system akin to feudal autocracy and feudal fascism. The so-called theory of "the fundamental task" and the theory of "the three prominences" were reminiscent of the feudal emperors' ideas about literature and art. The so-called theory of fascist cultural dictatorship was but a continuation, under new historical conditions, of "burning books and burying scholars alive" and "ostracizing Confucian scholars." Since "leftist" mistakes which appeared in the 17 years following the founding of the PRC differed from the ultraleftist line pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they should be strictly distinguished from each other. Therefore, eliminating the remnant poison of the "Summary" must be linked with efforts to dig into the social and historical conditions that engendered the ultraleftist trend of thought. Criticizing the "Summary" should likewise be linked with criticizing feudalism as well as with summarizing the positive and negative experiences in conducting literary art work in the years since the founding of the PRC. Moreover, this must also be linked with efforts to study the new developments, new problems and new directions of current literary and art work. Only by doing this can problems be cleared up and remnant poisons eliminated.

The "Summary" served the counterrevolutionary, political purposes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power. It relied on the power usurped by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to assert itself throughout the country. However, as a theoretical system, we still can use the same method for solving ideological problems to deal with the point of view upheld by the "Summary." The ultraleftist trend of thought is unpopular; it cannot pass the test of practice. By reasoning things out and through argument, ultraleftist stuff will sooner or later be discarded by upright people.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BEIJING JOURNAL CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN PRESS CIRCLES

Beijing QIU SHI [AUTUMN FRUIT] in Chinese No 1, Mar 79 pp 3-4 HK

[Article by Xu We [5641 5113]: "A Discussion in the Light of the Favor Shown to CANKAO XIAOXI (REFERENCE NEWS)--Some Caustic Remarks to Domestic Press Circles"]

[Text] I wonder if people have noticed a strange phenomenon: in reception offices, general offices and reading rooms, as soon as the daily papers arrive people ask for a small-sized eight-page paper called CANKAO XIAOXI, leaving the other papers. This paper is often stained with sweat and fingerprints while the other papers still smell of ink. This has made a great impact on the writer. Why does such a small-sized paper which is neither "an instrument of dictatorship" nor "a mouthpiece of the party" receive unexpected interest while the other papers which have been painstakingly run are coldly treated?

Facts tell us that freedom of press opens up a vast field for foreign reporters and objective and fair reporting of true news have gained them a stable market, while domestic papers carry tediously long and dry articles, even have grammatical mistakes and deliver stereotyped political sermons and people are tired by the sight of them.

Facts also tell people that the domestic press has not established complete credibility among the people. People want to read the foreign accounts of major events at home and abroad because the foreign reports tally with the facts or because foreign reports are sometimes the only source of news.

This morbid state of the press has long existed. Ten years ago, papers and radio broadcasts vigorously publicized: "Bumper agricultural harvests have been reaped for many years running, industry has gone ahead by leaps and bounds, science and technology have astonishingly developed and the situation has been excellent and become better and better." The paean has been sung for 10 years, however, the facts proved otherwise. Industry stagnated, agriculture dropped, commerce was slack and the national economy was on the brink of collapse. The writer fortunately worked for the press

for 2 years. It is not exaggerated to say that at that time many editors and reporters were liars. As time passed, they gained experience in telling lies which were difficult to see through. The masses were indignant and called the mass media "a deceiving tool." They also held: "Whoever wants to understand Chinese society from the news during the past 10 years will be fooled."

Since the smashing of the four pests, the press has boldly done what was previously prohibited. They have sought truth, spoken for the people and removed the morbid state from society. The situation is fine. However, when the situation was just improving, something disappointing happened. The following is an example. When the Xidan Democracy Wall shook the capital, the writer went there many times and felt that the voice of the masses could not be disregarded. Foreign reporters in China vied with each other in quickly sending out news while the domestic press remained silent. It was known to everyone that Vice Chairman Deng's talk on the Xidan Democracy Wall was publicized to the masses as a document of the party and it was reported by Japanese reporters. The Chinese press was really held up to mockery. Why should the party Central Committee link up the people through foreign reporters? What did this situation show? It is a good thing that the masses show concern for the affairs of the state, pursue democracy and embark on the "four modernizations." The press circles however, shut their eyes to such a good situation. What is the harm if the people are told about the situation?

In the press, importance should be first attached to time (the latest events must be reported); second, the contents must be new (new people, new events and new work style) and third, the angles must be new (reports must not use stereotypes and be commonplace). These three things are indispensable conditions for the press. How do our press circles deal with news? They often lay stress on the political nature and the principle of guidance and forget the other aspects. On 10 February, ZHONGGUA QINGNIAN BAO reported on Vice Premier Wang Zhen receiving Yunnan educated youths and published his talk. This event occurred as early as this January. If Shanghai educated youths had not created disturbances in February and if the railway transport had not been interrupted, this "news" would not have been published in the paper. Such vague words as "over the past year," "over the past several months" and "not long ago" are often seen in the papers. How can this news be called new?

The writer asks these questions not because he wants the domestic press to disregard its special features and rigidly learn from foreign countries, but because he wants to expose this malpractice for mutual discussion and to intensify our study of press theory and press work.

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### COMMENTARY SCORES 'THAT ADVISER' FOR PERSECUTING LATE OFFICIAL

Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 0900 GMT 23 Aug 79 OW

[Commentary by Lian Guan, deputy director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council and vice chairman of the All-China Returned Overseas Chinese Association: "The Loyal Fighter for Overseas Chinese Affairs Work"--in memory of Comrade Fang Fang, vice chairman of the former Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission]

[Excerpts] Comrade Fang Fang was a loyal fighter for our party's overseas Chinese affairs work. Throughout his revolutionary life, Comrade Fang Fang maintained close relations with the broad masses of returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese living abroad. He worked hard to implement the party's policy and made an indelible contribution to overseas Chinese affairs work.

Comrade Fang Fang started to work in the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission in 1953. His painstaking work is closely identified with achievements in overseas Chinese affairs work before the Great Cultural Revolution. His false accusation by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that adviser of implementing a capitalist line in overseas Chinese affairs work came quite unexpectedly. Comrade Fang Fang was cruelly persecuted and died in 1970 before being exonerated.

During his tenure with the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Comrade Fang Fang unswervingly assisted Comrade Liao Chengzhi in carrying out overseas Chinese affairs work along the socialist orientation and in implementing the party's policy toward overseas Chinese affairs work under the direct leadership of Premier Zhou. Comrade Fang Fang believed that returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese living abroad are a special part of the Chinese people and a force in our country's socialist construction.

Throughout his life, Comrade Fang Fang paid attention to practice and disliked empty talk. In the early 1960's, he often reminded cadres in charge of overseas Chinese affairs to work more and talk less and to refrain from becoming phrase-mongering politicians. His spirit and his efforts to carry out the work energetically greatly encouraged the cadres in charge of overseas Chinese affairs work.



Comrade Fang Fang was infinitely loyal to the party and had great respect and love for Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Chairman Zhu.

Premier Zhou was extremely busy during the surge of the Great Cultural Revolution, and worked very hard day and night. He nevertheless often showed concern for overseas Chinese affairs work. He was deeply concerned for Comrade Fang Fang, as well as for other veteran comrades who were being persecuted. When Comrade Fang Fang lost his personal freedom and was seriously ill, Premier Zhou showed great concern for his health. When Comrade Fang Fang was in critical condition, Premier Zhou immediately sent a person to the hospital to ask medical workers to do their best to save Comrade Fang Fang's life.

In conclusion, the article says: Today the "gang of four" and their company have been smashed. The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has restored order across the country, and overseas Chinese affairs work has also been restored. The party's policies toward overseas Chinese affairs work are being implemented step by step. All false charges brought against Comrade Fang Fang by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been redressed. The broad masses of returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese living abroad are happy and enthusiastic that the unfairness and injustice done to Comrade Fang Fang have been redressed. We should look forward, learn from Comrade Fang Fang's revolutionary spirit and noble character and encourage the broad masses of returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese living abroad to unite and struggle for the realization of the four modernizations in the motherland.

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NEED TO STUDY PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING OF MINORITIES STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 79 p 4

[Article by Deng Xiang [6772 4382]: "To Study the Philosophical Thinking of Our Minority Nationalities"]

[Text] The study of the philosophical thinking of China's minority peoples is a glorious and arduous task placed before the philosophical workers, which is very necessary to promote our academic cause and strengthen the unity among our various nationalities.

Ours is a united multi-nationality country with more than 50 national minorities besides the Han nationality, each having its own long, or fairly long, history. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The minority nationalities have all contributed to the making of China's history." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") We must pay special attention to the study of the philosophical thinking of our minority nationalities and, in the domain of China's history of philosophy, truthfully report the philosophical ideas of our minority peoples and give them due status. Ignoring or looking down upon their philosophical thinking not only misrepresents the historical facts of our country but also goes against the wishes of peoples of various nationalities.

At present, there is not even one book on Chinese history of philosophy in our country, which includes the philosophy of minority nationalities. To us, the philosophical thinking of minority nationalities is still a "field" to be explored immediately, and a "blank" to be filled in. In recent years, especially after the downfall of the "gang of four," in compiling and writing China's general history, modern history, history of literature, history of astronomy and data on earthquakes, our academic circles have changed their past prejudice of talking only about the Han nationality but never about the minority nationalities, and first of all collected, sorted out and reported the histories, literature and astronomical calendars (such as the Tibetan and Thai calendars) of our fraternal nationalities. This way of doing things is worth the attention of our philosophical workers to learn from. It may be affirmed that the progress of work in these branches of science and the results of their studies will also play the role of motivating and assisting our study of the philosophical thinking of the minority nationalities.

To positively unfold the work of studying the philosophical thinking of our minority nationalities, I believe that:

First, it is necessary to salvage and sort out all historical records in the languages of our minority nationalities. In our country, besides the huge amount of historical data in the Han language, there are also large amounts of historical records and data in Manchurian, Tibetan, Mongolian, Yi, Thai, Uighur, Korean and Haxi languages, as well as those in Xi-Xia, Tu-jue, Hui-gu and Qi-dan languages. These records (and relics) are the principal basis in writing, upon which we can understand and study the history, politics, economy, military affairs, sciences, culture and philosophical thinking of our fraternal nationalities. However, during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, large amounts of valuable and rare written data (and relics) were either destroyed by fire or lost and missing because nobody took care of them. At present, we must salvage as quickly as possible these written historical data of various nationalities, which were luckily spared from the catastrophe, and carry out a thorough study so that we can have a fairly clear understanding of the distribution, stock, classification and editions of these written records of nationalities, for the use of research.

Secondly, it is necessary to translate and publish the historical records of our minority nationalities. It may be said that most of these records now found in our country have not yet been translated and arranged in order. Effective measures must be taken, necessary personnel must be organized quickly for the translation of these materials into the Han language or into other national languages to meet the development of the work of academic study.

Furthermore, according to the requirements of various subjects of study, we should publish collected or selected volumes of these materials, such as the "Materials on the Philosophical Thinking of China's Minority Nationalities" and so forth. According to our information, at present, Xinjiang and Nei Monggol have organized their personnel to translate their written historical materials. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region has translated "The Wisdom of Happiness." The Bijie Prefecture in Guizhou Province has translated from Yi language into Han language the volumes of "The Records - Yi People in the Southwest," "The Origin of the Universe" and "On the Universal Humanities." These books constitute important source materials for the study of the philosophical thinking of our minority nationalities.

Thirdly, it is also necessary to organize cooperation, set up institutes and make plans for the study. The work of studying the philosophical thinking of our minority nationalities cannot be undertaken in isolation. We must organize the personnel of various academic departments and specialties to work in cooperation and coordination. For instance, the data on calendar making of the Thai nationality are important reference materials for the study of the development of Thai people's philosophical thinking. Also, many philosophical views can be found among materials of literature of minority nationalities, which are very useful to us in the study of their philosophical thinking. For the collection, classification and study of the philosophical materials of our minority nationalities, it is also necessary to concentrate some manpower, set up special research organs and stipulate a unified feasible plan.

"Nothing is too difficult for those who are determined." Only when the leaders of research departments and concerned units pay serious attention to the task, and all the personnel conduct their work of research in close cooperation, can we be certain to make a success of this project.

9039

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TRAINING OF GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SHANGHAI SCHOOLS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 20 Jul 79 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Schools of Higher Learning Concentrate on Training Graduate Students. The Role of Advisers Is Fully Developed; The Initiative of Teachers Is Greatly Motivated; Many Graduate Students Write Essays That Have Reached a Certain Standard"]

[Text] Shanghai's 17 schools of higher learning have fully developed the role of advisers who have adopted many methods to conscientiously train graduate students.

Last year, the schools of higher learning in Shanghai admitted over 1,000 graduate students and this surpassed the number in any year previous to the Great Cultural Revolution. In order to usefully train graduate students, most of the schools have a president and each department has a department head who separately administers the work of the graduate students and have set up departments to manage graduate students. Su Buqing, president and head of the graduate department at Fudan University, takes part in student admission, sets up specializations, and draws up the work for the training programs. He participates in every study and still, in the midst of all this, teaches graduate student classes. Qian Baojun, a specialist in chemical fibers and head of the Shanghai Textile Workers College, is the adviser of seven graduate students, personally draws up training plans and laboratory contents, teaches graduate classes every week and separately administers the work of the college's graduate students. At Jiaotong University, 18 persons including the president, vice president and department heads act as advisers to graduate students. President Zhu Wuhua accepted three graduate students and personally teaches a class in "The Principle of Hydrophonic Engineering" as well as other classes. Shanghai Normal University placed the work of graduate students on the important agenda of the president's administrative meeting and affirmed that it is one of the three great responsibilities of the school's academic committee, in order to grasp the work of training graduate students well.

All schools are attentive to the full development of the role of advisers motivating them to take direct responsibility for the work of instruction



and guidance in scientific research, to participate in drawing up teaching programs, to determine the direction of graduate student scientific research and to guide them by drawing up study plans. Professor Zuo Ren in, a specialist in educational psychology at the Shanghai Normal University, is over 80 years of age yet still personally writes teaching plans and gives lectures. Sometimes when he's ill, he still arranges for graduate students to have class in his home. Schools such as Fudan, Jiaotong and others have adopted the policy of scheduled meetings between advisers and graduate students. Graduate students would report to the professors at a scheduled time in the progress of their study so that the professors will be ready to advise and exert their leading roles in teaching.

Because of the advanced ages and physical weaknesses of the majority of advisers and the increased numbers of graduate students, each school has given full attention to motivating the initiative of professors and tapping their collective wisdom. Professors and advisers connected with teaching and research groups are used to jointly formulate programs and instruction plans for training graduate students and together investigate the results of instruction and build a good foundation in theoretical and specialized courses. The environmental health study and research groups of the First Medical College established a graduate student advisory group. The head of the teaching and research group, Professor Yang Mingding, is acting as leader of the advisory group and is aided by three lecturers. By adopting this measure when advisers travel or have busy work scheduled, the graduate students will continue to have someone give guidance to their studies.

To improve the level of graduate students and guarantee that there will be specialist teachers to do the excellent teaching, each school of higher learning in Shanghai fully developed fortes of one teacher specialized in many subjects and actively launched a coordinated movement among the schools. The Shanghai Normal University and the Shanghai Normal College are even recruiting graduate students for their recompiling ancient records group. For example, Professor Cheng Yangliu of the Shanghai Normal College was invited by the Shanghai Normal University to speak on "The History of Wei, Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties" and Professor Xu Zheno of the Shanghai Normal University was invited by the Shanghai Normal College to give a lecture class on "The Book of Poetry" which expanded the expertise of each school. The Biology Department of Fudan University and the Shanghai Institute of Plant Physiology cooperated in opening classes that could be attended by graduate students from both schools. Jiaotong University brought the initiative of each department and each specialty into full play by arranging more than 270 courses for 1979 graduate students. This allows the students to choose classes according to their own needs and research directions.

Over 80 percent of this 1979 graduate student class were originally staff members. On the one hand, they have relatively strong capabilities in self-study and independent work on the other hand the majority are graduates

from universities during the Great Cultural Revolution or in the last several years and hence their foundation in theoretical classes was inadequate. In light of these many schools give attention to accord the teaching to the ability of the students and utilize many forms of teaching: One is using large classes for the general required basic courses; two is teaching through discussion; three is using lecture format in teaching with emphasis on introducing the newest science and technology from within China and abroad; four is to combine class attendance, counseling and guidance allowing graduate students to take the responsibility of a specific amount of work as teaching aides and afterwards rendering them advice.

Under the leadership of the schools and the concern and training of the broad mass of teachers, in less than a year the basic theoretical and specialized knowledge of the graduate students have gained excellent achievements and many people have written essays which have acquired a certain level. At the school celebration and academic report meeting held on the 60th anniversary of the "May 4th" movement sponsored by Fudan University the graduate students of the school put out 28 essays and over 20 articles were published in various newspapers and journals.

9480

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### SECONDARY EDUCATION SAID IN URGENT NEED OF REFORM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 79 p 4

[Article by correspondent Shan Jiaoju [2619 4109 5468] and staff reporters Yang Zhihan [2799 2535 5060] and Zhang Xiaoqi [1728 1420 4428]: "The Structure of Secondary Education Must Meet the Needs of Socialist Construction--See the Urgency of the Structural Reform of Secondary Education From Contradictions in General Education"]

[Text] Recently, the Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Education conducted an investigation into the present conditions of primary and secondary education in the four counties of Weinan, Mei Xian, Zichang and Xixiang, and made an initial analysis. The report of the investigation revealed that the sabotage of the educational cause by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had brought about a serious imbalance in secondary education, and also affected the development of primary education, so that general education could not meet the present needs for the development of national economy. It was pointed out that the circumstances made it necessary to reform the structure of secondary education, and that both primary and secondary education were also in urgent need of readjustment.

#### Comparison Between Two Sets of Basic Figures

In 1965, before the Great Cultural Revolution, Shaanxi Province had 567 general middle schools with 285,000 students and 19,000 teachers and staff members. In 1978, the number of schools increased to 7,558 and the number of students went up to 1.933 million, that of teachers and staff members also increased to 116,000. These figures, in comparison with those of 1965, show an increase of schools by 12.3 times, that of students by 6.1 times and that of teachers and personnel by 5.2 times. During the period from 1958 to 1960, the progress of secondary education was very quick before the cultural revolution, the annual average increase of the number of students was 56,000. However, from 1975 to 1977, this figure increased to 255,000. This blind development exceeded the objective possibility and violated the law of educational work, bringing about a series of problems to general education.

## Contradictions Between Primary and Secondary Schools

The report of the investigation asserted that in recent years there was a very serious situation of middle schools edging out primary schools. In 1965, Shaanxi Province had 56,219 primary schools with 3.26 million students. In 1978, the number of students increased to 4.5 million; however, the number of primary schools not only showed no increase but, on the contrary, was reduced by 16,372. The fact was that the buildings of many primary schools were used by new middle schools. For instance, Meixian County had only four middle schools in 1965. In 1978, the number increased to 89, including 73 middle schools with various titles. The number of secondary students also increased from 1,900 to 16,600. The number of middle schools increased by 21 times, the number of students increased by 7.7 times. Of these new middle schools, only two were housed in the former Agricultural Middle School while all the others occupied buildings of primary schools. Next, large numbers of comparatively qualified teachers of primary schools were transferred away. In this county, 80 percent of new teachers of middle schools were promoted from primary schools. In Weinan County, 95 percent of teachers of junior middle schools were promoted from primary schools. In Nanshi Commune of this county, only 1 of the 60 junior middle school teachers had taught at a junior middle school, all the others were teachers of primary schools. To replace teachers transferred away, the primary schools took on teachers from civilian schools. Therefore, the proportion of civilian school teachers in primary schools increased year by year throughout the province. It was 55.6 percent of the total number of primary school teachers and personnel, it has now increased to 71.2 percent. Below the county and commune levels, the proportion of civilian school teachers is even greater. It is 74 percent in Weinan, 80 percent in Meixian, 82.8 percent in Xixiang and 83.9 in Zichang. Moreover, the civilian school teachers were transferred frequently, feeling very unsteady and widely different in their qualifications, thus the quality of teaching was seriously affected. Thirdly, the children of schoolage were neglected, so that up to the present not many of them have been admitted into the primary schools. In Meixian County, a special investigation was made in the two production brigades of the Huaiya Commune, which had fairly good natural and economic conditions. In the spring semester of this year, 84 percent of their schoolage children were in school. In the same county, a general investigation of three production brigades under the Hengqu Commune showed that this year 74.7 percent of primary students between the ages of 13 and 17 had completed their 5-year course of primary education. According to the statistics of 1978 for Shaanxi Province, only 56.2 percent of the total number of primary students completed the 5-year course of primary education. The Xixiang County made an investigation which showed that in most communes and production brigades about 30 to 40 percent of students completed the 5-year primary course, the highest percentage was 54.

## Contradictions Between Quantity and Quality

The fast expansion of secondary education required teachers to be drawn from various levels. It not only weakened the primary schools but also lowered the standard of the middle schools. When qualified teachers of primary schools were sent to junior middle schools, they became unqualified teachers. When

qualified teachers of junior middle schools were sent to senior middle schools, they also became unqualified teachers. The people described their impression of this situation by saying: "The teachers are promoted, but the students are left behind." The result of this promotion level by level was that many teachers were unable to do their work properly, and for some subjects there was not even a teacher. An investigation in Zichang County revealed that 48.7 percent of senior middle school teachers and 42 percent of junior middle school teachers could not cope with their task of teaching. In the 78 7-year course schools in this county, very few teachers could competently teach physics, chemistry and mathematics. As the teachers were not qualified, it frequently happened that they either could not teach or committed mistakes. Under such circumstances, it must be expected that the achievements of their students would be very poor. In Weinan County, of 161 students of the second year class of a senior middle school, only 20 percent did fairly well, about 30 percent could follow up with difficulty, one-half did poorly, some of them could not even do "fractional calculation" in the teaching material of the primary school. The Ruiquan Middle School was a key school. Last year, the school recruited students for the senior secondary first-year class. Among these new students, some even miscalculated  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} = 2/4$ . Some experienced teachers made an analysis which showed that at present, about 70 percent of senior secondary graduates did not have the same qualification as those before the Great Cultural Revolution, and the junior secondary graduates also had only the qualification of senior primary graduates in the 50's.

#### Contradictions Between the Scale of Development of Secondary Education and the Burdens of the State and People

This year, of the state appropriation of funds for the general education of Shaanxi Province, about 77.6 percent of the total budget is for wages of teachers and staff members, subsidies for civilian school teachers and allowances for students, the remaining portion is distributed as funds for the construction and maintenance of school buildings, office expenditure and funds for the elimination of illiteracy. The average appropriation for each middle or primary school will be only 720 yuan. As a matter of fact, in most cases the funds are to be used according to unified planning, so that each school will receive even much less than that. The Huaiya Middle School in Meixian County received monthly 240 yuan from the county government, and had to pay every month 250 yuan for power supply. There were no funds for the purchase of reference books and equipment. With the exception of a few key schools, all schools gave lessons of physics and chemistry without making the simplest demonstrative experiments and relied entirely on verbal explanation and taking notes by hand.

At present, in comparison with 1965, Shaanxi Province has increased the number of civilian school teachers by one and a half times. If all of them were paid with wages, the expenditure would be equal to 54.8 percent of the province's total funds for general education. If the funds raised by the people for maintaining and building schools and purchasing desks and chairs were added to this expenditure, then the total amount of funds for running civilian schools would almost come up to the province's total appropriation for general education. At



present, it is obvious that the state cannot take the responsibility, and the people also can hardly carry the burden. The only solution is for the people to run these schools with state assistance. Now, a great part of the expenditure of primary schools, and a part of that of middle schools, is paid by communes and production brigades, and the burden on the people is very heavy. The blind expansion of middle schools has also created the shortage of school buildings. Some schools in mountainous areas held classes with scores of students in a small cave. Without classrooms, some schools held classes under trees. In Weinan County, the suburban Beitang 7-year course school had 800 students before the Great Cultural Revolution. Now it has 1,800 students, with no additional buildings. Besides, 23 rooms were pulled down for the construction of new roads, so that the students of 12 classes were taught in the open.

#### Contradictions Between Needs of Production and the Structure of Secondary Education

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, in Shaanxi Province, just as in the whole country, the structure of secondary education consisted of general middle schools, vocational secondary schools, agricultural secondary schools and schools of part-time work (farming) and part-time study. In 1965, in the whole province, 30.4 percent of the total number of middle schools were general middle schools, 1,145 agricultural middle schools constituted 61.3 percent, and all the others were part-work (farming) part-study schools and vocational secondary schools.

At that time, these proportions were quite proper and basically in agreement with the level of development of the national economy and the ability of the state in running schools. During the period of the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" criticized strongly what they called the "double track system," eliminated all agricultural middle schools and vocational secondary schools, changed all of them into general middle schools, made the rule that "one receives primary education inside a production team, receives junior secondary education inside a production brigade and receives senior secondary education inside a commune," dislocated the structure and distribution of secondary education and brought about the abnormal situation of turning all middle schools into a single type. In 1978, Shaanxi Province had 7,558 general middle schools, constituting 97.8 percent of the total number of schools of various types. All agricultural middle schools and part-work (farming) part-study schools were wiped out; the total number of vocational secondary schools and schools for technical workers constituted only a little over 1 percent.

Agriculture is the foundation of China's national economy. The development of agricultural education, the urgent popularization of agro-technological knowledge and the training of a huge agro-technological force will play a very important role in accelerating the modernization of agriculture and raising agricultural productivity. However, the "gang of four" had wiped out our agricultural secondary education. Formerly, the great majority of our young people in school did farming or factory work while they were studying; but, the "gang of four" dismantled all the part-work (farming) and part-study schools. At present, every year there are more than 200,000 senior secondary graduates in the whole province, only a few of them will go to colleges, and the great majority

must pursue industrial and agricultural production and other kinds of work. As they have not acquired the knowledge and techniques of production, they cannot meet the requirements for doing productive labor after graduation. This serious situation comes from the arbitrary and blind development of general middle schools. In 1978, Weinan County had 4,202 senior secondary graduates, 384 of them were admitted into colleges, and all the others must return to their production teams or wait for employment in cities and towns. In spite of their education, they have no knowledge and skill of productive labor, and cannot do much useful work in the rural villages. To meet the requirement of technical personnel, some counties could not but transfer people from communes and production brigades and give them special training. Is it not the huge waste created by the disproportion of secondary education?

#### Initial Suggestions for Readjustment

How to readjust the distribution of middle schools and reform the structure of secondary education? The comrades of the provincial bureau of education believe that it will be necessary to make further investigation and study the opinions of various quarters. They are considering and studying the following measures: (1) To readjust the junior middle schools, curtail the senior middle schools and set up more vocational secondary schools of various categories, part-work part-study and part-farming part-study schools. To determine the appropriate proportions of these schools according to the needs and possibilities of the development of the national economy. (2) To fill out and strengthen primary education in rural villages, make an effort to popularize as early as possible the 5-year course of rural primary education and build a solid foundation for secondary education. (3) The problem of teachers must be solved, which is the key to improving the quality of education. To consider the scale of development of the higher and secondary schools of teachers, and to send qualified teachers continuously to schools of various categories and at various levels. To train teachers in active service by various means, and improve their professional ability.

9039

CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GRADUATES URGED TO KEEP GOALS FLEXIBLE

Tianjin TINAJIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 79 p 2

[Article by Shu Ping [6615 6097]: "One Grain of 'Red' Heart for Contribution to the Four Modernizations and Two Seeds of Preparation for a Broad Outlook"]

[Text] You young people reporting for university entrance examinations, having just completed your high school final exams, must certainly feel anxious in your hearts as you wait for your country to select you.

Since taking the high school finals, many young examinees have been studying diligently day and night. This is necessary in order to make a high grade on the examination. However, many young people feel that in trying for a high grade, they have their backs to the wall, if they pass the examination they have a way out, but if they fail, all is lost, even taking an oath that they will do thus and so if they fail the examination. This kind of thinking is clearly one-sided and wrong. A man's life is not predestined by whether or not he is able to be accepted by and finish university study. In our socialist country, the path of life is broad and open. If one is accepted into the university and is able to continue into advanced studies, making himself capable of even greater contributions to socialist modernization, his future is bright; similarly, if one fails to qualify for university and participates directly in socialist construction, continuing spare-time study while engaged in labor practice, he also has a bright future. The young candidates for examination should have one grain of "red" heart and two seeds of preparation, and as has been demonstrated by some classmates, stand up and allow their country to select them!

Some young people are far too anxious in their thoughts and emotions, which has a great deal to do with excessive requirements by parents and close friends, and excessive social pressures. Around the time of the high school finals, and particularly after grades are published, is the time of relatively intense mental conflict for examination candidates, and the focus of ideological and political work by departments concerned with education and recruiting of students should be directed at the candidates for examination and their parents. Parents, teachers, classmates, coworkers, close friends, and neighbors of candidates should have a correct understanding of examining

for the university and attending the university, should support the candidate's "One grain of 'red' heart, two seeds of preparation," have warmly toward candidates awaiting entrance, and certainly not discriminate against, mock, or attack those candidates who fail. The young candidates themselves should have a correct attitude toward promotion and should resolutely resist the pressure of excessive censure and public opinion. Failure to be selected is not something unbearable, but is a normal occurrence not only with regard to the present, but for the future. The total number of those attending university is a small minority, and most young people will take other paths, depending on self-study to get scientific and cultural knowledge. Most of the social pressure on young candidates is in the form of heating iron, because it is not steel even with the best of intentions, but some parents make attending university the only alternative, even to the point of despising physical labor and scorning workers and peasants, which is completely wrong.

Young examination candidates, when you complete your high school finals, we hope you will win admittance to the university with outstanding achievements, and at the same time we fervently hope you will broaden your outlook a little, extend your horizons a little, and not make success or failure in these examinations the standard of honor or disgrace in a person's whole life. The key to whether or not someone can be a noble-minded person, useful to the country and the people, lies in whether or not he has lofty and farsighted ideals and can accept the socialist four modernizations as his own duty. A young person with ideals and ambition, if accepted into the university, can amount to something; if he is not admitted to the university, he can still contribute to the country's four modernizations through firm and indomitable efforts. Many politicians, scientists, literary persons, artists, as well as many models of heroism, emerged through self-study. Examples of this number in the thousands and ten thousands!

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GUANGDONG PROVINCE OUTLINES POPULATION CONTROL MEASURES

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 79 p 1

[Article: "Guangdong CCP Committee Urges Immediate Action in Family Planning"]

[Text] The CCP Guangdong Province Committee recently issued an "Urgent Notice Concerning Conscientious Attention to Present Family Planning Work," requiring the whole party and all of the people to take action immediately, pay conscientious attention to the present family planning work, and quickly reduce the natural rate of population increase.

The urgent notice required that party committees on all levels pay attention to production on the one hand and family planning on the other, with the person holding primary responsibility giving it his personal attention, immediately arranging and instituting extensive propaganda, extensive mobilization, and extensive investigation to raise the consciousness of the masses with regard to the strategic significance of family planning. With regard to those who are pregnant for the third time or more, there must be early and well-done ideological work and the adoption of remedial measures; all parents of childbearing age who have not practiced family planning must adopt birth control measures and be determined not to bear a third child.

The notice requires that leaders, cadres, staff and workers, party members, and youth corps members on all levels serve as models of family planning, take the lead in late marriage, late childbearing, and birth control, and take the lead in each man and wife bearing only one child throughout their lives; it is recommended that it is best for each man and wife to have one child, to have two children at most, and not be permitted to have three children. Criticism and reeducation should be directed at those who exceed the plan by having a third child. The organization department should assess the manner in which cadres, party members, and youth corps members carry out family planning.

The notice points out: we must continue to implement "Trial Stipulations on Several Problems of Family Planning Work in Guangdong Province," which was issued last year by the provincial revolutionary committee, and provide



economic encouragement to have only one child and restrict the birth of a third child. At the same time there must be vigorous support for basic level units to arrange mass pledges. Any policy that is advantageous to the family planning work must be carried out, to mobilize the masses' enthusiasm for family planning.

The notice also requires all departments to become promoters of family planning, to study effective measures, strengthen propaganda and education work, to educate the masses to carry out family planning, and to vigorously extol those units and individuals who carry out family planning well. Health and medical departments must guarantee the quality of family planning techniques and the supply of contraceptive medicines and devices.

The notice requires that party committees on all levels implement this rapidly and carry it out vigorously. At present, they must overcome the thinking that this year's rate of population increase is already established and show clearly that if the party mobilizes urgently, makes immediate arrangements, and carries out the work well, there is hope that the natural rate of population increase in our province this year can fall to 10 per 1000.

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